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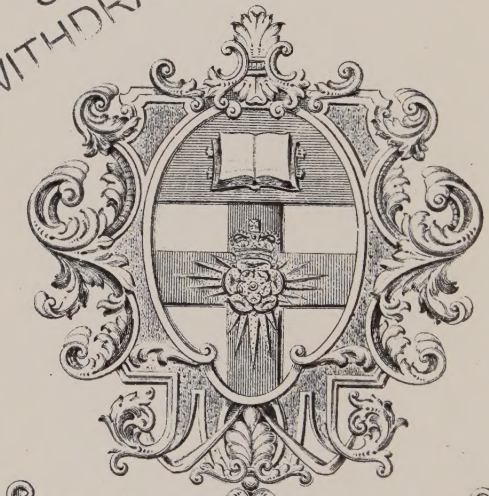

University of London

HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 33

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IRELAND, 1494-1603

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LONDON
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1920

PREFACE

Mr. Dunlop in "The Cambridge Modern History," vol. iii., pp. 852–859, compiled an exhaustive bibliography of this period. Of course, since it was written in 1904, some important books have appeared. I may be permitted to refer to my "Public Record Office, Dublin," for guidance to the documents in that institution. For example, in that book I deal with the Privy Council, and consequently omit this subject in the present book. I should like to add that Miss C. Maxwell is about to give us valuable extracts from sixteenth-century documents.

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IRELAND, 1494–1603

Parliamentary Records, 1494–1603.

It is not possible to secure a printed edition of all the statutes of the sixteenth century. In 1569 James Stanihurst, the Speaker of the House of Commons, suggested that there should be an edition of the statute law of Ireland, and he authorised James Hooker, alias Vowell, the Exeter antiquary, to print the statutes at his expense. The patent issued to Hooker laid down that "divers Parliaments have been holden in Ireland, and divers statutes and acts made in the same, which laws being never put into printe have been altogether turned into oblivion."[1] Still, the matter came to nothing. In 1621 Sir Richard Bolton, afterward Lord Chancellor of Ireland, published in one folio volume the first collected edition of the statutes. In 1765 B. Grierson, the King's printer, commenced the issue of "The Statutes at Large passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland from the third year of Edward II., A.D. 1310, to the first year of George III., A.D. 1761, inclusive." The statutes passed after 1621 had been regularly printed, but Grierson ignored many of the medieval statutes—*e.g.*, those contained on the extant rolls of Parliament from the reign of Edward II. to the seventh year of Edward VI. Even all the statutes of the reign of Henry VII. are not set forth. Dr. Twiss (or Berry) is supplementing these grave omissions, but the last of the three volumes he has published only comes down to the days of Edward IV. There are transcripts of the Irish statutes preserved in the Record Office, Dublin. These the student must read in order to understand the whole field of the activities of Parliament. Transmisses were the Bills sent by the King in Council to the Council Board in Ireland, as having the King's sanction to be debated and passed by the Parliament in Ireland. The Bills took their rise then with the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, and were sent over for approval of the King in Council in London. On approval there they were transmitted to Ireland as sanctioned by the King, and

[1] "Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts," vol. i., p. 387.

hence their name as "Transmisses." These Transmisses range from 27 Henry VIII. to 1800.

The Journals of the Lower House afford no help in eking out the scanty records, for they only commence with the year 1634. The obscurity of the early history of Parliament is obvious from the consideration that in 1613 Sir John Davis, the Speaker, could not ascertain the procedure of the House. If the reader turns to the twentieth chapter on Parliamentary Antiquities in the third volume of Bishop Stubbs's "Constitutional History of England," he will at once see how widely different was the position of the English Speaker. The influence of Westminster was actively felt in Dublin. For in 1495 the Irish House of Lords insisted that the robes worn by its peers must be of the same pattern as those worn by the English peers.[1]

An odd chance dispels some of our ignorance. In 1569 the historian Campion was stopping with the Speaker, Stanihurst, and he gives us a report of the speech of the Lord Deputy, Sir H. Sydney, at the opening of Parliament, and that of the Speaker to the Lord Deputy. The speeches of these two officials at the prorogation concerned the education of the people. Stanihurst was able to congratulate his audience on the passing of an Act for the erection of Free Grammar Schools, though he regretted that "our hap is not to plant yet an University here at home." So much for the matter of the 1569 Parliament.

The manner of ceremony in use demands attention. Here we are fortunate, for Robert le Commaundre, Rector of Tarporley in Cheshire, happened to be present. He records the scene in the House of Lords on the opening day in January, 1569: "The Lord Deputy of Ireland sat under the cloth of estate in his own robes of crimson velvet, representing the Queen's Majesty's most royal person. Item, Robert Weston, doctor of laws, and Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, sat on the right side of the said Lord Deputy. Item, Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, Viscount Thurles, High Treasurer of Ireland, sat on the left of the said Lord Deputy. Memorandum, that these two lords sat

[1] 10 Henry VII., *c.* 16.

severally above by themselves, one either side of the said Lord Deputy, having their seats enrailed about, and hanged or covered with green; and the said Lord Deputy had steps or gresses (stairs) made and covered for the seat of the estate, being richly hanged. . . . Memorandum, that the Chief Justices of the one bench and the other, the Chief Baron, the Master of the Rolls, and the Queen's Majesty's Attorney-General and her Highness's Solicitor, did sit together at a table in the midst of the Parliament House (*i.e.*, Christ Church Cathedral). Memorandum, that Mr. Stanihurst, Recorder of the City of Dublin, was Speaker of the Lower House, and did wear for his upper garment, when the Lord Deputy sat in the higher house under the cloth of estate, a scarlet gown; and this Mr. Stanihurst was a very wise man and a good member of the Commonwealth of Ireland."

In Plantagenet Parliaments the Lord Chancellor and the High Treasurer were accorded the precedence they still kept in the Elizabethan Irish Parliament. How much English procedure influenced Irish is evident from the preamble to the early Acts of the Irish Parliament, for according to the preamble the Legislature was composed of "the Lord Deputy, the Chancellor and Treasurer, and all the lords spiritual and temporal, and the King's Council in Ireland." The Egerton MS. provides us with a list of the lords spiritual and temporal in the Irish Parliament, 1568–69.[1]

John Hooker, uncle of the famous theologian, wrote a diary or journal, January 17 to February 23, 1568–69,[2] supplementing the account of the ceremonies which Commaundre gives. It is noteworthy that Hooker, like Grattan and Flood, was a member both of the Irish and the English Legislatures, and no doubt he used his influence to bring the ceremonial of Westminster and Dublin into closer accordance.[3] For the information of his fellow members he drew up the book of the orders of the Parliaments

[1] Reprinted in C. Litton Falkiner, "Essays Relating to Ireland," pp. 233–236. The Egerton MS. is a British Museum MS., 2642, No. 29, f. 282.

[2] C. Litton Falkiner, "Essays Relating to Ireland," pp. 237–240. The Journal is now in Cambridge University Library.

[3] Bagwell, "Ireland under the Tudors," vol. iii., p. 142; Mountmorres, "Ancient Parliaments of Ireland," vol. i., p. 87.

employed in England, which is printed in his contribution to the Irish portion of Holinshed's "Chronicles."[1] Hooker's "Order and Usage how to keep a Parliament in England" shaped Irish procedure. His diary furnishes us with what is in effect the first unofficial extant Journal of the House of Commons. He gives us the figures in the divisions which took place on the main questions debated. These questions turned on constitutional issues, and among them were the validity of the sheriff's return to the writ of summons, the title of certain members to be returned to Parliament, and the like. On the latter matter the judges gave their decision, but the Parliament required them to appear in person. The first nine leaves of the Carte MS. 61, gives us the earliest formal Journal of Parliament: it records the proceedings of Sir J. Perrot's Parliament, May 3, 1585, to May 13, 1586.[2] Unlike Hooker's, it is not written in narrative form and is not in the first person. It gives the days of meeting, the prorogations, the readings, and the success or the failure of measures.

On the sixteenth century there are seventeen volumes of calendars of State Papers published. Eleven of these volumes consider the state of Ireland from 1509 to 1603: these have been edited by H. C. Hamilton (vols. i.–v.); by E. G. Atkinson (vols. vi.–x.); and by R. P. Mahaffy (vol. xi.).[3] J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen edited six volumes of the Carew Papers,[4] which are preserved in Lambeth Library: they cover the period from 1515 to 1624. There is much unpublished matter in the Record Offices, Dublin and London. In the latter there are the documents dealt with in the Calendars above named—viz., Letters and Papers, 1509, March, 1603, 248 volumes; an Entry Book, April, 1597, to March, 1599, 1 volume; an Entry Book of Correspondence, 1587–90, 1 volume; Dr. M. Hanmer's Collection of Historical Notes, 1 volume; Accounts and Valors, 1536–46, 4 volumes; Revenue Accounts, 1547–51, 1 volume; a Coinage Account,

[1] 1586–87. No place of publication.

[2] *E. H. R.*, vol. xxix., pp. 104–117. In an able article Mr. F. J. Routledge deals with this Parliament, and gives the Journal *in extenso*. *Cf.* Russell and Prendergast's "Report on the Carte Papers" (1871), p. 24. The rest of MS. 61 consists of official papers of Sir John Davis and Sir Arthur Chichester for the year 1613.

[3] London, 1860–1912.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1867–73.

1559, 1 volume; and Miscellaneous Accounts, 1581–85, 2 volumes. These documents bear on the general course of the history of the country, but there is a great deal of parliamentary material scattered among them. One fact emerges from them, and that is the conservatism of the Irish Parliament.

The fact that Parliament met so irregularly during the sixteenth century goes to show that it was not the governing force. For example, no Parliament sat from 1586 to 1613. Influence rested with the Lord Deputy and the Privy Council. As a matter of fact the Secretary of State controlled the course of Irish affairs. Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell, Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil[1] exercised paramount power. There is no book, like A. V. Dicey's "Privy Council,"[2] describing the work of the Privy Council. Such a volume is a desideratum for Ireland.

None of the older books are of much value in elucidating the past of the Irish Parliament. Viscount Mountmorres's "History of the Principal Transactions of the Irish Parliament from 1634 to 1666"[3] is simply an analysis of the contents of the printed Journals. His "Preliminary Discourse of the Ancient Parliament of that Kingdom" is largely a reprint of John Hooker's "Order and Usage how to keep a Parliament in England." T. Beatson gives the hereditary honours, public offices, and persons in office from the earliest times to 1806. His third volume records Irish information.[4] On the subject of Beatson's book there is the all-important "Liber Munerum publicorum Hiberniæ, 1152–1824"[5] of J. Lascelles. In his sixth volume T. H. B. Oldfield deals with the Irish boroughs.[6] Monck Mason's "Essay on the Antiquity and Constitution of Parliaments in Ireland"[7] is a book with a purpose. It is written to refute the opinion of Sir John Davis that there was no separate Parliament for Ireland for 140 years from the time of Henry II. William

[1] See his letters, edited by J. Maclean. Camden Society. London, 1864. [2] London, 1887. [3] London, 1792, 2 vols.
[4] "Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland." London, 1806.
[5] London, 1824. Indexed in Appendix III. to the Ninth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin, 1877.
[6] Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland. London, 1816. [7] Dublin, 1820.

Lynch's "View of the Legal Institutions, Honorary Hereditary Offices, and Feudal Baronies of Ireland"[1] scarcely reaches the Tudor period. Sir William Betham's "Origin and History of the Constitution of England and the Early Parliaments of Ireland"[2] stops with the reign of Richard III.

In the seventh chapter of the first volume of Mr. Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors"[3] there is an able sketch of the Irish Parliament. Of course, it is no more than an outline, but it is a good outline. In the "Irish Legislative Systems"[4] of the Right Hon. J. T. Ball there is in the first chapter a survey of the course of the early Parliaments. In its twenty pages the author brings us down to the year 1613. By far the best account is that of Mr. E. Porritt in his "Unreformed House of Commons."[5] It is based on adequate knowledge, and this knowledge is presented in masterly chapters. Like Mr. Ball's book, its strength lies in the survey of the eighteenth century. At the same time the hints on the sixteenth century are illuminating, and at the moment it is easily the best book in existence. The late Mr. Litton Falkiner had pondered the past of our Parliament long and deeply. In his "Essays relating to Ireland"[6] there is an essay on "Irish Parliamentary Antiquities,"[7] which is packed with ideas and with information. Mr. G. P. Gooch calls him the best-equipped scholar in the field of modern Irish history since Lecky,[8] and an essay like this proves how sound is such a judgment. He is the only writer who spends his strength on the sixteenth century. Mr. J. G. Swift MacNeill published "The Constitutional and Parliamentary History of Ireland till the Union."[9] His book suffers seriously from the plan on which it is written. He takes the speeches delivered in 1782 at once into consideration. Such speeches are not the source to which an historian goes when in search of exact information. There is no addition to our knowledge of the past history of Parliament in a book which is essentially a pamphlet written from a Nationalist point of view. It is a pamphlet good of its kind; still, it is a pamphlet.

[1] London, 1830. [2] *Ibid.*, 1830. [3] *Ibid.*, 1885. [4] *Ibid.*, 1889.
[5] Cambridge, 1903, vol. ii. [6] London, 1909. [7] Pp. 193–240.
[8] "History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century," p. 400.
[9] London, 1917.

One fruitful source of inquiry is to ascertain how far the Irish Parliament was influenced by the Scots and English. There are parallels with the Scots, for Poynings' Law and the Committee of Articles are similar in their effects. The Scots Parliament was never modelled on that of the English, whereas the Irish undoubtedly was. The Mother of Parliaments had for her first offspring the Irish Parliament. We pass by the fact that the English and the Irish Parliaments possessed upper and lower chambers, but it is significant that the representative system by which the Irish House was elected was practically identical with the electoral system of England as affected by that epoch-making measure, the statute of 1430, which remained in force to 1832. The forty-shilling freehold lay at the basis of both English and Irish county representation. As in England, each county in Ireland had two knights of the shire to represent it, and these knights were chosen in the county court. In borough representation there had been developed the freeman franchise; the franchise controlled entirely by municipal corporations; the potwalloper franchise, which closely resembled the potwalloper franchise of England; and the freehold franchise in manor boroughs, which resembled the burgage franchise of the boroughs of England. In Mr. Porritt's[1] opinion, a history of the procedure and usages of the Irish House of Commons would tell only of the adoption of English orders and usages. He holds that "it is not possible to discover in the Irish Journals any procedure which had not its origin in Westminister."[2] Mr. Litton Falkiner also takes this position.[3]

The first person to be really styled the Lord Lieutenant seems to have been Lionel, Earl of Ulster and Duke of Clarence, who came to Ireland in 1361. It became usual for a member of the Royal Family to be sent as Lord Lieutenant, though he discharged the duties of his office by means of a deputy. In time the title of Deputy was bestowed on the Governors of Ireland, even when there was no Lord Lieutenant actually appointed. The real influence lay in the hands of the Lord Deputy. Thus from 1478 to

[1] "The Unreformed House of Commons," vol. ii., p. 404.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 404.
[3] "Essays relating to Ireland," pp. 202, 203.

1526 the rulers of the country were the Earls of Kildare, who were Lords Deputy. They through the Privy Council controlled the doings of Parliament.

The method of electing the Speaker, certainly from 1568, was the same as in England. On the assembling of a new Parliament the Commons adjourned to the House of Lords. When the Lord Deputy had made a speech, the Lord Chancellor ordered them to return to their own House in order to elect a Speaker. English usage determined the choice of the House, and the Speaker-elect came to the Lord Deputy for approval. As at Westminster, he begged that "some man of more gravity and better experience, knowledge and learning might supply the place."[1] The first Speaker whose name we can ascertain is John Chever, Master of the Rolls, and his date is 1449. In 1541 Sir Thomas Cusake, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was Speaker, and in 1557 he was succeeded by James Stanihurst, who was thrice elected. In 1585 Stanihurst was succeeded by Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of Munster and Second Justice of the Queen's Bench. The Speaker was always a Crown nominee, and for the most part he reflected faithfully the behests of the Lord Deputy. Speaker Cusake nominally vindicated the liberties of his order, but at the same time he insisted on the authority of the Crown and the respect due to the royal prerogative. Unlike the English customs, the Speaker did not ask that a favourable construction might be put upon his actions, though he claimed the usual liberties of the Commons—freedom from arrest and freedom of speech. Unlike the English custom, he did not require freedom of access to the person of the Sovereign, though he did require that if a member misconducted himself, the punishment should rest exclusively in the control of the House over which he presided.[2] In the reign of Edward IV. privilege was regulated by statute. In 1463 a measure was passed, modelled upon the law of the English Parliament, under which members were to be "impleaded, vexed, nor troubled by no man" from forty days before until forty after a session of Parliament.

[1] Hooker's account in Mountmorres, vol. i., pp. 71, 72.
[2] Holinshed, vol vi., pp. 342, 353. Cf. Stubbs, vol. iii., p. 472.

There was no struggle between the Irish House of Commons and the Irish House of Lords such as that which marks the annals of Westminster. One reason is that the Irish Upper House was a small and feeble body. Another was that it possessed no power to originate a money Bill, and it possessed no right to alter or amend such Bills. With this fruitful source of trouble removed, there was little likelihood of conflict. The English Bills of 1405–6, of 1427, of 1429, and of 1444, regulated the machinery for Irish elections. There was only one Irish law of the sixteenth century—that of 1542—which attempted to legislate on this topic. By the Bill of 1542 a sheriff who returned a member contrary to its provisions as to landed qualification and residence was liable to a penalty of a hundred pounds.

It is difficult to ascertain the position of the clergy in Parliament before 1537. That year the 28 Henry VIII., c. 12, took from their proctors the right of "voice or suffrage," and ordered that they should attend only as "counsellors and assistants." This in effect extinguished their influence, which had long been extinguished at Westminster. The clergy assessed their own taxes, and in 1538 granted the King an annual twentieth of all their promotions, benefices, and possessions. During the Reformation there was an attempt to employ proctorial influence to defeat the legislation of Henry VIII.'s advisers. It was urged that the proctors enjoyed a status like that of the prelates: what the proctors were in the Lower House the bishops were in the Upper. The bishops of Ireland supported the proctors in this position. The Deputy referred the question to the judges, and they decided that the proctors had no voice in Parliament.[1]

Like the Parliaments of England and Scotland, it was some time before the Irish Parliament acquired a fixed home. The Plantagenet Deputies convoked it to meet at Trim, Kilkenny, and Drogheda. Other places of meeting were Naas, Wexford, Limerick, Baldoyl, Castledermot, Waterford, and Cashel. In the reign of Elizabeth Dublin

[1] State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. ii., pt. iii., p. 438: Gray and Brabazon to Cromwell, May 18, 1537.

became its home, although even in the metropolis it met in places like the Hall of the Carmelites in Whitefriars Street, Kilmainham Priory, and Christ Church Cathedral. The Parliaments of 1568–71 and 1585–86 met in Dublin Castle.

Before the changes introduced by James I. there were only forty-four boroughs. Here there is obscurity. For there is no extant list of members between 1382 and 1559. In 1382 there were eighteen counties or districts and eleven towns represented, and in 1559 there were ten counties and twenty-eight cities and boroughs returning two members each. In 1541 the Upper House was the more important of the two, and was attended by four archbishops, nineteen bishops, and twenty temporal peers.

The Lancastrian and Yorkist kings summoned Parliament quite often. Under Henry VII. there were at least six Parliaments assembled. As deputy for the Lord Lieutenant, Jasper, Duke of Bedford, the Archbishop of Dublin, Walter, held the first in 1492. There was the Parliament held by Sir Edward Poynings at Drogheda in 1494, two held by Lord Gormanston at Trim and Drogheda respectively, one by Gerald, Earl of Kildare, at Castledermot in 1498, and one held by another Earl of Kildare which met at Dublin and later at Castledermot. Ware in his "Annals" regrets the fact that the laws of the 1498 Parliament were not upon record in his time. He tells us that one Nangle was imprisoned in England on a charge of having surreptitiously removed the Rolls.

The noteworthy Parliaments held were those which met in 1494, 1508, 1533, 1536–37, 1541–42, 1556, 1559, 1568–69, and 1585–86. The 1536–37 Parliament is the one which passed the Reformation measures, though the proctors of the clergy offered stout opposition, especially objecting to the King being declared supreme head of the Church. The 1541–42 Parliament declared Henry VIII. King of Ireland. Domestic legislation in it was modelled on English lines. In the 1568–69 House there was so much confusion that it was more "like to a bear-baiting of loose persons than an assembly of grave and wise men in Parliament." It was then that Hooker proffered assistance to Speaker Stanihurst.

Poynings' Law.

Behind all these assemblies lay the fact that they were not a sovereign body, for Poynings' Law controlled all their affairs. Now there is no statute so seriously misunderstood. Take the work of such a scholar as A. G. Richey. He represents it as "the most disgraceful Act ever passed by an independent Legislature, and wrung from this local assembly of the Pale," binding "future Parliament for three hundred years."[1] Of course, P. W. Joyce follows this opinion.[2]

Poynings' Acts are two in number. By the first it is laid down, in 1494, that no future Parliaments should be held in Ireland, "but at such season as the King's Lieutenant and Council there first do certify the King under the great seal of that land (*i.e.*, Ireland), the causes and considerations, and all such Acts as then seemeth should pass in the same Parliament, and such causes, considerations, and Acts affirmed by the King and his Council to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well as affirmation of the said causes and Acts as to summon the said Parliament under the great seal of England, had and obtained. That done, a Parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore rehearsed, and if any Parliament be holden in that land hereafter contrary to the form and provisions aforesaid, it be deemed void and of none effect in law." The second Act, which is of minor importance, provides that all public statutes "later made within the said realm of England" apply to Ireland.

The clue to the understanding of the measure is to note what evils it was meant to cure in the eyes of contemporaries. The history of the two generations preceding 1494 immediately reveals the fact that the Lord Deputy was fast assuming the powers of a Sovereign. The Kildares declared peace and war as if they were kings. Lords Deputy, like them, had assented to Bills without any reference to England or to English policy. Differences between the

[1] "A Short History of the Irish People," p. 232.

[2] "A Short History of Ireland," pp. 348–349. Dr. Bonn also misconceives the working of this law. *Cf.* his "Der englische Kolonisation in Irland," vol. i., pp. 108, 163.

policies of Dublin and Westminster were becoming prominent. The Lord Deputy summoned Parliament when, where, and how he willed. The truth, then, is that the far-reaching enactment of 1494 was meant as a protection to the Anglo-Irish, and they at once regarded it in that light. Deputies used to commit treason, and all the Anglo-Irish were held responsible. Now the Deputies could no longer do as they please. The native Irish felt no restrictions from the new measure, for it was only enforced within the Pale. The origin of Poynings' Law was simply the desire of the Irish Parliament to confine the authority of the Deputies within bounds.

As all the ordinary histories repeat the mistakes of men like Richey, it is worth while to elaborate the *raison d'être* of the 1494 Act. The Irish unpublished statutes of the Yorkists reveal the fact that the history of Ireland turns on the rivalry of the Houses of Butler and FitzGerald. When a Butler was Lord Deputy he occupied his time in seeking revenge on his rivals, and of course the Anglo-Irish endured much hardship in the process. Under Edward IV. the Kildares continue this story. The climax was reached in the Simnel affair when "the ladde," as an Irish statute puts it, was crowned. It was plain that if the authority of the King of Ireland was not to vanish, the Lords Deputy must be brought under strict control. That control came with effect in 1494, and the Anglo-Irish hailed Poynings' statute with delight.

The remedy to an evil always reveals some inconvenience due to it. Poynings' Law hampered the Deputy, but it also hampered the work of government. In the sixteenth century there were no telephones, and sudden emergencies could no longer be met by the Lord Deputy himself. A letter took a month for an answer, and much might happen in the interval. It is evident from a letter from Audeley, the English Chancellor, to Thomas Cromwell that this inconvenience was felt in 1533. "I have seen," Audeley writes, "the Act made in Ireland in Poynings' time. I do not take that Act as they take it in Ireland; nevertheless . . . I have made a short Act that this Parliament and everything to be done by authority thereof, shall be good

and effectual, the said Act made in Poynings' time, or any other Act or usage of the land of Ireland notwithstanding."[1] Accordingly, in spite of the 1494 measure, the Acts of Lord Leonard Gray's Parliament of 1533 should be deemed valid. How temporary and limited was the nature of the suspension is clear, for it only applied to Bills required for "the King's honour, the increase of his Grace's revenues and profits, and the commonweal of the land and dominion of Ireland." Popular opinion disliked this use of the dispensing power so strongly that it did not affect the property of individuals or of corporations. Poynings' Act was also suspended in 1537 and 1542.

In 1557 another emergency arose, and the Earl of Sussex, who called the only Parliament of Mary's reign, brought forward a measure, "declaring how Poynings' Act shall be expounded and taken." "Forasmuch," it points out, "as many events and occasions may happen during the time of Parliament, the which shall be thought meet and necessary to be provided for, and yet at or before the time of the summoning of the Parliament, was not thought nor agreed upon," it is proper to provide for the extension of Poynings' Act to legislation formulated during the session. In 1557, unlike 1533, the Act is not suspended. Sussex was Deputy in the first Parliament of Elizabeth, and he takes care in it not to infringe the provisions of the 1494 Act.

In the time of Elizabeth the Irish Government pressed for the suspension of Poynings' Law. The English in Ireland opposed this pressure vigorously. Their feeling is clear in the Act passed in 1569 for safeguarding Poynings' Act. It declares that before 1494 Acts were passed in the Irish Parliament "as well to the dishonour of the prince as to the hindrance of their subjects." In order to increase their security it was declared that for the future there "be no Bill certified into England for the repeal or suspension of the said statute," unless the same Bill be first agreed on in a session of the Irish Parliament "by the more number of the Lords assembled in Parliament, and the greater number of the Commons House."

It is remarkable that in writing to Sir H. Sydney, January

[1] State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. i., pt. ii., p. 440.

16, 1557, Elizabeth uses language implying the customary view of the 1494 Act. "Whereas," she wrote, "we understand you are desirous to have authority to call a Parliament, the rather for the receiving of our subsidy there . . . before we assented thereunto we could have been contented to have had advertisement from you what other matters you thought most meet to be commended in the same for the benefit of our service. For, except the same might appear very necessary, we have small disposition to assent to any Parliament. Nevertheless, when we call to remembrance the ancient manner of that our realm, that no manner of thing ought to be commended or treated upon, but such as we shall first understand from you, and consent thereunto ourself, and consequently return the same under our great seal of this our realm of England, we are the better minded to assent to this your request. And I authorise you to devise with our council there only of such things as may appear beneficial for us and that our realm."[1]

In spite of this letter Sydney, knowing the course taken by his predecessors, Gray, St. Leger, and Sussex, adopted their plan of suspending the operation of Poynings' Act. In Dublin he realised the difficulties of the course proposed by his royal mistress. The Irish Parliament would warmly resent the removal of the protection Poynings had afforded them. The safer method was to introduce new members for the boroughs, and he nominated them for boroughs under the control of the Crown. Irish opinion was as hostile to any tampering with their protection as of old. In spite of the borough members, the opposition to Sydney's Bill for suspension waxed strong. Hooker's diary informs us that it passed the first reading without a division, that on its second reading there were 50 votes for it and 40 against it, but on the third reading there were only 44 for it and 48 against it. Lord Chancellor Weston wrote, February 17, 1569, to Cecil: "The first Bill that was read was touching the suspending of Poynings' Act; a good and profitable Bill, and worthy of much favour; and so we thought it would have found. But it was handled as things are used to be that fall into angry men's hands; without good advice

[1] C. S. P., "Ireland, 1509–73," p. 324.

and consideration it was with great earnestness and stomach overthrown and dashed."[1]

The Commons had gained a notable victory, and the cost was the inability to pass any legislation—if Parliament did not accept unaltered the Bills approved by the English Privy Council. In the opinion of the judges, amendments were out of order on the ground that they would change the measures, and hence they could not be said to have had the approval of London. Driven by the force of circumstances, on February 21 the Commons, after prorogation, passed the Act for the suspension of Poynings' Act. In so doing they asserted the ideas of 1494 by passing an Act "that there be no Bill certified into England for the repeal or suspending of the statute passed in Poynings' time before the same Bill be first agreed on in a session of Parliament holden in this realm by the greater number of the lords and commons."

This incident by no means stands alone. In the last Parliament of Elizabeth, called by Sir John Perrot on May 3, 1585,[2] the repeal of the Act of 1494 was mooted. The ministers tried to show how the Irish Parliament was hampered by it, for it was "shut up and forbidden to make any law or statute unless the same be first certified into England." Perrot proposed to confer with the Commons concerning any measures introduced. It was all in vain. Two popular leaders, Burnell and Netterville, members for Dublin County, protested vigorously. By the large majority of 35 the Bill was thrown out.[3] Like Sydney, Perrot prorogued Parliament and it met at Drogheda, where no business was transacted. He brought the Bill forward again at Dublin, and a second time it was rejected. It is plain that the majority regarded Poynings' Law not as a badge of servitude, but as the mark of their protection from the tyranny of the Lord Deputy.

[1] C. S. P., "Ireland," vol. xxvii., No. 25.

[2] *Cf.* "Historical Tracts by Sir John Davis," p. 306, edition 1786. Lists of members of both Houses of the Parliaments of 1560 and 1585 are printed in "Tracts relating to Ireland" (Irish Archæological Society, Dublin, 1843). *Cf.* C. S. P., "Ireland, 1574–85," p. 561.

[3] C. S. P., "Ireland," vol. cxvi., No. 56.

The Reformation.

The State Papers, English and Irish, and the Carew Papers testify plainly to the deplorable state of religion years before the Reformation. In 1515 an Irishman and a deeply religious man testifies: "Some sayeth that the prelates of the Church and clergy is much cause of all the misorder of the land; for there is no archbishop ne bishop, abbot ne prior, parson ne vicar, ne any other person of the Church, high or low, great or small, English or Irish, that useth to preach the Word of God, saving the poor friars beggars; and where the Word of God do cease, there can be no grace; and without the special (grace) of God this land may never be reformed. And by the preaching and teaching of prelates of the Church, and by prayer and orison of devout persons of the same, God useth alway to grant his abundant grace; ergo, the Church, not using the premises, is much cause of all the said misorder of this land."[1] He proceeds to show that "the noble folk of Ireland oppresseth, spoileth the prelates of the Church of Christ of their possessions and liberties; and therefore they have no fortune ne grace, in prosperity of body ne soul. Who supporteth the Church of Christ in Ireland save the poor commons?" There is need for an investigation of the self-denying efforts in the regular work of the seculars and in the irregular work of the Spanish, French, and English friars.

Archdeacon H. Cotton compiled an invaluable "Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ."[2] The Rev. St. J. D. Seymour gives "The succession of parochial clergy in the united diocese of Cashel and Emly,"[3] and tells the history of "The Diocese of Emly."[4] M. Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum" recounts the history of the abbeys, priories, and other religious houses in Ireland.[5]

There are documents in J. Bale's extraordinary "Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Byshopperycke of Ossorie"[6]; N.

[1] C. S. P., Henry VIII., vol. ii., p. 15.
[2] Six vols. Dublin, 1851–78.
[3] Dublin, 1908.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1913.
[5] London, 1786. There is an edition by P. F. Moran and others, Dublin, 1873.
[6] Rome, 1533. It is also in the Harl. Miscell., vi., 402–28. London, 1745.

Sanders' "De origine ac progressu Schismatis Anglicani"[1]; P. Lombard's "De Regno Hiberniæ Commentarius"[2]; E. O'Duffy's edition of "The Apostasy of Myler Magrath . . . about 1577"[3]; J. Garvey's edition of "The Conversion of P. Corwine . . . anno 1589"[4]; R. Verstegan's "Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum nostri temporis"[5]; R. Ware's "Historical Collections of the Church in Ireland, etc., set forth in the Life and Death of George Browne"[6]; Bishop Rothe's "Analecta sacra et mira de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia . . . gestis"[7]; A. Bruodin's "Propugnaculum Catholicæ Veritatis libris x constructum"[8]; J. Hartry's "Triumphalia Chronologica Monasterii Sancti Crucis in Hibernia"[9]; P. Adair's "True Narrative of the . . . Presbyterian Church in Ireland"[10]; A. Theiner's "Annales Ecclesiastici (1572–85)"[11] and his "Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam illustrantia, 1216–1547"[12]; L. Renehan's "Collections on Irish Church History"[13]; P. F. Moran's "Spicilegium Ossoriense: being a collection of Original Letters and Papers illustrative of the History of the Irish Church"[14]; E. Hogan's "Ibernia Ignatiana, seu Ibernorum Societatis Jesu Patrum Monumenta collecta, etc., 1540–1607"[15]; and E. P. Shirley's "Original Letters and Papers . . . during the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth."[16]

Among the older histories there are P. O'Sullivan Beare's "Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium"[17]; N. Orlandino and F. Sacchini's "Historia Societatis Jesu"[18]; F. Porter's "Compendium Annalium Ecclesiasticorum

[1] Cologne, 1585. There is an English translation with notes by D. Lewis, London, 1877.
[2] Edited by P. F. Moran. Dublin, 1868.
[3] Cashel, 1864. [4] Dublin, 1681. [5] Antwerp, 1587.
[6] London, 1681. It is also in Ware's "Antiquities," 1705, and in the Harl. Miscell., vol. v.
[7] Two vols. Cologne, 1617–19. Edited by P. F. Moran, Dublin, 1884. Rothe was Bishop of Ossory.
[8] Prague, 1669. It covers from Henry VIII. to James I.
[9] Edited by D. Murphy, who translated it into English. Dublin, 1891.
[10] Edited by W. D. Killen. Belfast, 1866.
[11] Three vols. Rome, 1856. [12] Rome, 1864.
[13] Vol. i., Dublin, 1861. Renehan was President of Maynooth College.
[14] Vols. i. and iii. Dublin, 1874–84. [15] Vol. i. Dublin, 1880.
[16] London, 1851. [17] Lisbon, 1621. Dublin, 1850.
[18] Antwerp, 1620, etc. Parts i.–iii.

. . . Hiberniæ."[1] Perhaps the ablest modern book on the Roman Catholic side is A. Bellesheim's "Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Irland"[2]: it is well documented. M. J. Brenan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland"[3] is written for edification: it is unindexed. C. P. Meehan's "Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries" is a poor book.[4] W. M. Brady writes with all the zeal of a convert in his "Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross,"[5] "The Irish Reformation,"[6] "State Papers concerning the Irish Church,"[7] and his "Episcopal Succession."[8] There are sidelights in P. Boyle's "Irish College in Paris, 1578–1901."[9] A similar book on the Irish College in Rome is wanted. J. D'Alton compiled "Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin,"[10] and H. C. Groves "The Titular Archbishops of Ireland."[11] Cardinal P. F. Moran wrote a "History of the Catholic Archbishops of Ireland"[12]: there are documents in the appendix. O. J. Burke dealt with the "History of the Catholic Archbishops of Tuam."[13] G. Boero sketched the lives of two Jesuits in his "Vita del Servo di Dio P. Pascasio Broet"[14] and his "Vita del Servo di Dio P. Alfonso Salmerone."[15] On Elizabethan times there is also E. Hogan's "Life, Letters and Diary of Father Henry Fitzsimon."[16] M. O'Reilly raises the "Memorials of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith in Ireland"[17]; D. Murphy describes "Our Martyrs: A Record of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith under the Penal Laws in Ireland"[18]; and A. Zimmerman discusses "Die irischen Martyrer unter Königin Elisabeth."[19]

On the Church of Ireland side there are the solid volumes of Bishop R. Mant's "History of the Church of Ireland"[20] and R. King's "Primer of the History of the Church of Ireland."[21] Both writers used documents, but it is a pity

[1] Rome, 1690.
[2] Three vols. Mainz, 1890–91. Vol. ii. deals with 1509–1690.
[3] Two vols. Dublin, 1840.
[4] Dublin, 1869.
[5] Three vols. Dublin, 1864.
[6] Fifth edition. London, 1687.
[7] London, 1868.
[8] Rome, 1876–77.
[9] Dublin, 1901.
[10] *Ibid.*, 1838.
[11] *Ibid.*, 1897.
[12] *Ibid.*, 1864.
[13] *Ibid.*, 1882.
[14] Florence, 1877.
[15] *Ibid.*, 1880.
[16] Dublin, 1881.
[17] London, 1868.
[18] Dublin, 1896.
[19] *Katholik* (1888), ii., 179–200.
[20] Two vols. London, 1840.
[21] Second edition. Three vols. Dublin, 1845, 1851.

that their style is not livelier. The Rev. H. Holloway has written a useful account of "The Reformation in Ireland"[1] from the point of view of ecclesiastical legislation. Like so many others, he does not understand the working of Poynings' Law. He has not used Mr. R. Dunlop's survey of "Some Aspects of Henry VIII.'s Irish Policy."[2] Mr. Dunlop is one of the greatest of living authorities on the history of Ireland, but in this article he unduly minimises the effects of the legislation of Henry VIII. Perhaps it is a useful corrective to the bias shown in J. A. Froude's "History of England."[3] Dr. H. J. Lawlor has written a remarkable study of "The Reformation and the Irish Episcopate."[4] From the Presbyterian standpoint J. S. Reid describes the "History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland"[5] and W. D. Killen "The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland."[6] Both writers go to the sources.

The Plantations.

Shakespeare wrote that England was "that utmost corner of the west."[7] He was quite wrong, for the discovery of America by Columbus completely altered her position to Europe. Formerly she had been at the edge of affairs: now she was in the very heart of them. The position of Ireland was also fundamentally changed. Before 1492 she acted as a breakwater between England and the ocean, but now she lay athwart English trade lines between the New World and the Old. He who controls her harbours controls English commerce. From this point of view the discovery of America was fatal to the aspirations of the Irish. The control of Ireland was vital to England, and sixteenth-century statesmen soon perceived that this control must be effective: hence the confiscations and plantation which now begin to mark the history of Ireland. Mr. Dunlop wrote two able articles on "The Plantation of

[1] London, 1919.
[2] In "Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College, Manchester," pp. 279–306. London, 1902.
[3] Twelve vols. London, 1899.
[4] London, 1906 (published by the S. P. C. K.).
[5] Edited by W. D. Killen. Three vols. Belfast, 1867.
[6] Two vols. London, 1875.
[7] *King John*, Act II., Scene I.

Munster, 1584–89 "[1] and "The Plantation of Leix and Offaly, 1556."[2] In the first chapter of his thoughtful book, "Confiscation in Irish History,"[3] Mr. W. F. T. Butler examines the Tudor confiscations. In his "Die englische Kolonisation in Irland "[4] Dr. M. J. Bonn inquires into what he calls the retrogression of the English colonial interest in Ireland, and he raises the question whether a policy of colonisation is in any case possible in a country inhabited by a vigorous native population. He begins with the earliest times and comes down to the present day. He, by reading twentieth-century notions into the sixteenth, holds that instead of the English imposing Protestant civilisation on the natives, they ought to have allowed them to develop on the basis of their national characteristics. To work out this idea was foreign to the mind of all sixteenth-century statesmen. At the same time it is remarkable to note that some form of it entered the brain of Henry VIII., who tried to meet the Irish half-way. The trouble was that English civilisation was more highly developed than Irish, and this rendered it increasingly difficult for London and Dublin to see eye to eye. The Irish were unable or unwilling to conform to the new environment. Of course, the Reformation complicated the whole question, yet it is significant that in the plantation of Leix and Offaly—or indeed in any of the sixteenth-century plantations—there was no weight attached to the religion of the planter. These considerations Dr. Bonn thrusts on one side. Moreover, he is too inclined to treat an unauthorised suggestion as if it had official sanction. In her brilliant volume, "The Making of Ireland and its Undoing, 1200–1600,"[5] Mrs. A. S. Green violently attacks the policy of the English. Dates are so mixed that it is difficult to follow the arguments advanced. The use of the term "Irishmen" is puzzling. Sometimes it means what the author calls Gaels, and sometimes it means persons of Norman or English descent. Her handling of evidence is most unfair. Here

[1] *E. H. R.*, vol. iii., pp. 250–269.
[2] *Ibid*, vol. vi., pp. 61–96. *Cf. ibid.*, *E. H. R.*, vol. xx., p. 309, for his article on "Sixteenth-Century Maps of Ireland."
[3] Dublin, 1917. [4] Two vols. Stuttgart, 1906.
[5] London, 1908. Second edition, 1909.

is an instance. She quotes the statement of Captain Cuellar on the work and housekeeping of the women of Connaught. She does not quote his statement that he invariably terms the Irish "savages," and that they live "as brute beasts among the mountains." He says that the chief employment of the Irish is to rob and plunder each other. He, a shipwrecked Armada commander, was robbed, stripped naked, beaten, and forced to work. And this was done to an ally of the Irish, one who had come to fight on their behalf.

The Older Sources.

Among these the following deserve close attention: "The Annals of Ulster, 1155–1541"[1]; "The Annals of Lough Cé, 1041–1590"[2]; "Annala Rioghachta Eireann,"[3] commonly called the "Annals of Ulster"; T. Dowling's "Annales Breves Hiberniæ"[4]; Camden's inaccurate "Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum"[5]; Sir J. Ware's "Rerum Hibernicarum Annales regnantibus Henrico VIII. . . . Elizabetha,"[6] his inaccurate "Historie of Ireland collected by . . . M. Hanmer, E. Campion and E. Spencer,"[7] and his "Antiquities and History of Ireland."[8] Harris made considerable alterations in the last book.[9]

Other noteworthy volumes are J. Derricke's "Image of Ireland, 1578"[10]; T. Churchyard's "Services of Sir William Drury . . . in 1578 and 1579"[11] and his "Scourge for Rebels"[12]; H. Allingham's edition of "Captain Cuellar's Adventures in Connacht and Ulster, A.D. 1588"[13]; H. D. Sedgwick's edition of Captain Cuellar's "Letter to Philip II., 1589"[14]; R. Payne's "Brief Description of Ireland, 1590"[15]; S. Haynes' "The Description of Ireland . . . in Anno

[1] Vols. iii. and iv. London, 1866.
[2] Edited by W. M. Hennessy. Vol. ii. London, 1871.
[3] Edited by J. O'Donovan. Vols. v.–vii. Dublin, 1851.
[4] Edited by R. Butler. Irish Archæological Society, Dublin, 1849.
[5] London, 1615. It is particularly valuable on the Elizabethan insurrections.
[6] Dublin, 1664. Translation, 1704–5.
[7] Dublin, 1633. Republished as "Ancient Histories." Two vols. Dublin, 1809.
[8] Edited by R. Ware. Dublin, 1704.
[9] Edited by W. Harris. Two vols. Dublin, 1764.
[10] London, 1581. In Somers' "Tracts," i. London, 1809. Edited by J. Small. Edinburgh, 1883.
[11] London, 1580.
[12] *Ibid.*, 1584.
[13] London, 1897. Cuellar's narrative is in C. F. Duro's "La Armada Invencible."
[14] London, 1896.
[15] Edited by A. Smith. Irish Archæological Society, Dublin, 1841.

1598 "[1]; J. Dymmok's "Treatice of Ireland," *c.* 1600[2]; R. Beacon's "Solon his follie; or, a politique discourse touching the reformation of common weales, conquered, declined, or corrupted "[3]; H. Harrington's "Nugæ Antiquæ, being a collection of original Papers . . . written . . . by Sir J. Harrington "[4]; W. Harris's "Hibernica: or Some Ancient Pieces relating to Ireland "[5]; S. Hayman's "Unpublished Geraldine Documents "[6]; H. F. Hore and J. Graves' "Social State of the Southern and Eastern Counties of Ireland "[7]; R. Stanihurst's "De Rebus in Hibernia gestis,"[8] and his "Description of Ireland "[9]; J. Lodge's "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica: or a Select Collection of State Papers . . . during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth "[10] (to Charles I.); A. Collins' edition of the "Letters and Memorials of State . . . written and collected by Sir Henry Sydney "[11]; J. O'Donovan's edition of "Sir Richard Bingham's Account of Connacht and Narrative of Sir H. Docwra's Services in Ulster "[12]; Sir Thomas Stafford's "Pacata Hibernia "[13]; J. Hooker's "Life and Times of Peter Carew "[14]; Fynes Moryson's "Itinerary in three parts.[15] The second part containeth the Rebellion of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone "[16] and "Unpublished Chapters of the Itinerary "[17]; Sir J. Davis's "A Discoverie of the State of Ireland "[18] and his "Historical Tracts "[19];

[1] Edited by E. Hogan. Dublin, 1878.
[2] In "Tracts relating to Ireland." Irish Archæological Society, Dublin, 1842.
[3] Oxford, 1594.
[4] Three vols. London, 1779. The papers go from Henry VIII. to James I.
[5] Dublin, 1770.
[6] Four parts. Dublin, 1870–81.
[7] Dublin, 1856.
[8] Antwerp, 1584.
[9] Holinshed's "Chronicles." Vol. ii. London, 1587.
[10] Two vols. London, 1772.
[11] London, 1746.
[12] Miscell. Celtic Soc. Dublin, 1849.
[13] London, 1633. Reprinted, Dublin, 1810; London, 1896.
[14] Edited by J. Maclean. London, 1857.
[15] London, 1617. This is of the utmost importance.
[16] Dublin, 1735. Cf. Spedding's "Bacon." Vols. ii. and iii.
[17] London, 1903.
[18] London, 1612.
[19] London, 1786. Complete works. Edited by A. Grosart. Three vols. London, 1869–76. There is a cheap edition of some of the writings of Spenser, Davis, and Fynes Moryson. H. Morley edits it under the title of "Ireland under Elizabeth and James the First." London, 1890.

J. Chamberlain's "Letters"[1]; Sir J. T. Gilbert's "Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland,"[2] and his "Facsimiles," parts 3 and 4[3]; and Sir R. Wilbraham's "Journal."[4] It is obvious that the bulk of these sources concern Elizabethan times. There is another one deserving of mention, and that is William Farmer's "Chronicles of Ireland from 1594 to 1613."[5]

Modern Books.

At the head of these stand the three volumes of Mr. R. Bagwell.[6] He belonged to the small band of Irish historians of the class of A. G. Richey, W. E. H. Lecky, and C. Litton Falkiner. His long life was devoted to the investigation of the past of Ireland, and the labours of none have been more fruitful. He begins his narrative with the first Tudor and continues it to the fall of the last Stuart King at the Battle of the Boyne. That is, he covers the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at first hand, using manuscript evidence throughout. Moreover, he is a pioneer historian, for no one had covered these centuries before him. True, party pamphlets had been compiled from the Unionist or the Nationalist point of view, but for the first time Mr. Bagwell told the truth as it might have been if the voice of pure reason were heard. We read and we re-read his six volumes with ever-increasing admiration for the impartiality displayed in them. Lord Rosebery has felicitously observed that "the Irish question has never passed into history, because it has never passed out of politics." In this case the Irish question has emphatically passed out of politics, for Mr. Bagwell endeavoured, with complete success, to attain an impartial standpoint. It is a great feat to have accomplished. No one can call these six volumes colourless, but no one can call them partisan. There are some authors whose books are so eminently helpful, their sympathy so wide, their judgment so broad,

[1] Edited by S. Williams. Camden Society, London, 1861.
[2] Second Series, 1509–1600. London, 1860–63.
[3] London, 1882.
[4] Edited by H. S. Scott. Camden Society, London, 1902.
[5] *E. H. R.*, January, 1907, pp. 105–130; July, 1907, pp. 528–552.
[6] "Ireland under the Tudors." Three vols. London, 1885–90, "Ireland under the Stuarts and during the Interregnum." Three vols. London, 1912 ff.

their temper so fine, that one is lifted, as it were, into serener air. Such a man was Richard Bagwell.

Just as George Meredith is the novelists' novelist, so Mr. Bagwell is the historians' historian. They are well aware that the secret of his power lies in his sincerity, the sensitive feelings that enable him to understand the point of view of the men of the past, while his amazing and accurate acquaintance with the original materials enabled him to grasp what were the tendencies at work during the age he was investigating. The manuscript evidence, the tracts, the pamphlets at home and abroad, were thoroughly familiar to him. The fatal defect of the average Irish historian is that he sees events purely through the atmosphere of Dublin. The signal merit of Mr. Bagwell was that he saw events from a cosmopolitan aspect. He could not forget that policies not only in London, but also in Paris, Madrid, and Vienna, were shaping the course of affairs in Ireland. For wellnigh sixty years he laboured as an historian without haste and without rest. More fortunate than S. R. Gardiner, he set his heart on reaching the fall of the House of Stuart at the Battle of the Boyne, and his sixth volume reached the end he had planned in early manhood. We have mentioned Gardiner, and no one can read Mr. Bagwell's books without recalling the labours of the English historian. What Gardiner accomplished for the first half of the seventeenth century Mr. Bagwell accomplished for the whole of the sixteenth and for virtually the whole of the seventeenth.

Two-thirds of Mr. A. G. Richey's "Short History of the Irish People"[1] concerns our period, and this book is worthy to be placed alongside Mr. Bagwell's. This gifted and judicial writer possessed that power of selecting and disposing of incidents which belongs only to the front rank of historians. He knew how to show forth great events and their moving impulses by the presentation of salient characteristics suggestively related. Unlike so many Irish historians, he never allowed his narrative to be drowned in detail. The accuracy, the thoroughness, and the judicial

[1] Edited by R. R. Kane. Dublin, 1887. Cf. chapter xvii. in H. A. L. Fisher's in vol. v., and chapter xxii. in A. F. Pollard's in vol. vi. of "The Political History of England" (London, 1910).

temper displayed make us regret that Mr. Richey did not afford us more results. From large books we go to a small one, "A Review of Irish History,"[1] by Mr. J. P. Gannon. Though it covers the whole field it is so suggestive in relation to the social development of the sixteenth century that we mention it here. The comparative standpoint is never out of Mr. Gannon's mind, and the reader cannot fail to gather the connection between events in the Netherlands or in Spain and events in Dublin. It is easy to speak of the harshness of the English rule, and it was harsh. What Mr. Gannon does, with conspicuous success, is to enable us to grasp the motives of the governors and the governed alike. He perceives that behind the Tudor wars lay ecclesiastical reasons. The gold of Spain and the unwearied efforts of the Friars and the Jesuits were behind all the rebellions. The Roman Catholic Powers of Europe were fighting Elizabeth, and she naturally fought them, and, in spite of herself, was inevitably thrown into the arms of the Protestants. It is worth while emphasising what Mr. Bagwell has taught us, that the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland was cruel mainly because the Crown was poor. Just as Oliver Cromwell, had his life been prolonged, would have seen his foreign policy crash because he pursued an eighteenth-century policy on a seventeenth-century revenue, so Elizabeth saw much of her policy in Ireland, for similar reasons, undone. The Irish State Papers bear witness to the large sums she sent to Ireland, but they would have been larger had she not to contend with the treasure of France and Spain.

It sometimes happens that in a book dealing with foreign policy invaluable light is thrown on the progress of affairs in Ireland. This is notably the case with Major M. A. S. Hume's "Treason and Plot."[2] In spite of its title, this book is packed with ideas. The defeat of the Armada no more finally destroyed the might of Spain than did the Battle of Trafalgar annihilate French naval designs. There were several other Armadas, and that of 1596 was notable. In spite of the medal of Elizabeth, the victory of 1588 was largely due to the efforts of commanders and men. It was in 1596 that the winds blew, and the enemy were scattered.

[1] London, 1900. [2] *Ibid.*, 1901.

The author thinks that "if it had not been for the providential storm which caught Adontelado's fleet off Finisterre on October 28, there would have landed early in November on one of the fine harbours on the Irish coast a Spanish force very much stronger than any army which the English could have brought against it, and in all probability Tyrone would have been victorious and Protestant England in deadly peril."

In old books like J. Curry's "Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland"[1] and in new books like P. W. Joyce's "Short History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1608"[2] we miss considerations of this nature. The latter so fixes his eye on Dublin that he cannot understand that it is at least as important to grasp the plans of Philip II. of Spain as those of Mary I. At the same time we must not forget that within the limits he marked out for himself Mr. Joyce accomplished a great deal of useful work. He was a fair-minded man, and he put forth a readable narrative. Where he is weak R. Hassencamp in his "Geschichte Irlands"[3] is strong. The latter practically begins his tale with the accession of Elizabeth, and his book deserves perusal. He can note, as few Irish historians can, how the local history of Ireland merges in the general history of not only England but also of Europe and *vice versa*. Mr. G. B. O'Connor writes a valuable account of "Elizabethan Ireland, Native and English": it has John Norden's map.'[4]

Mr. P. Wilson's "Beginnings of Modern Ireland"[5] investigates the history of the sixteenth century to the accession of Elizabeth. Here and there the language is extravagant, yet this ought not to disguise the fact that the author has consulted many authorities, published and unpublished. He verifies everything, states what he finds without reserve, and states it with lucidity. It is indeed so promising a piece of work that we hope Mr. Wilson will redeem the promise in his preface, and give the world another volume. Even yet such old books as J. Mac-

[1] Dublin, 1810. [2] London, 1895.
[3] Leipzig, 1886. There is an English translation. London, 1882. Obviously there was an edition of "Geschichte Irlands" before that of 1886. [4] Dublin, 1906. [5] *Ibid.*, 1912.

Geoghegan's "Histoire de l'Irlande"[1] and T. Leland's "History of Ireland"[2] deserve consultation. The day is over for general histories on this scale. There is so much to be unravelled that it is utterly out of the power of any man to be master of all the matter pouring forth in articles and monographs. Father D'Alton has courageously essayed this task, and has published a general history in six volumes.[3] He has kept abreast of recent research so far as one man can cover a large field. Of course, there are lapses, but this arises from the wide extent of the ground he traverses. It is curious that it does not seem to occur to him that Irish chiefs were guilty of treason when they invoked the aid of France or Spain. For example, on April 25, 1566, Shane O'Neill writes, styling himself Defender of the Faith, to Charles IX., King of France, for 5,000 or 6,000 well-armed men, to assist in expelling the English from Ireland. On February 1, 1567, he writes to the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, to use their influence with the French King to send an army to assist him to restore and defend the Roman Catholic faith.

One of the puzzles of the time is why the Irish did not sweep out the English. The latter paid "black rent" to the former. Why were the English not driven out? The reasons seem to be these. The Pale came to mean the four counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin, and Kildare. The chieftains were so desirous of attacking one another that they were unable to combine. Each cared for his own particular part of the country, but none, not even Tyrone, cared for the whole country. The weak government extended protection to tribes which sought it. It was the aim of Henry VIII. to permit and expand this system. This legalisation of the tribal chief persisted throughout the sixteenth century, and explains some enigmas. Everything is local, and everything is tribal. We are almost back to the days of the Táin Bó Cúalnge, when the usual oath took the form of "I swear by the god my tribe swears by."

[1] Three vols. Paris, 1758–62. [2] *Ibid.*, London, 1773.
[3] Dublin, 1910.

Biographies.

There are none in the first rank, though there are some useful books among the following: W. B. Devereux, "Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex, in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., 1540–1646"[1]; A. Capel, "The Earl of Essex"[2]; G. Hill, "An Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim, including Notices of some other Leinster Septs"[3]; E. Hogan, "Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century"[4]; J. Hooker, "The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew"[5]; D. MacCarthy, "The Life and Letters of Florence MacCarthy Reagh, Tanist of Carbury"[6]; T. M. Madden, "The Maddens of Hy-Many"[7]; C. P. Meehan, "The Fates and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell"[8]; J. Mitchel, "The Life and Times of Hugh O'Neill, with some account of Con, Shane, and Tirlough"[9]; L. O'Clery, "The Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell"[10]; D. O'Daly, "Initium, incrementa, et exitus Familiæ Geraldinorum Desmoniæ Comitum Palatinorum Kyerria in Hybernia, ac persecutionis hæreticorum descriptio"[11]; J. O'Donoghue, "Historical Memoirs of the O'Briens"[12]; P. L. O'Toole, "The History of the Clan O'Toole"[13]; R. Rawlinson, "The History of . . . Sir John Perrott"[14]; E. C. S. (? Sir E. Cecil), "The Government of Ireland under Sir John Perrott, 1585–88"[15]; R. Sainthill, "The Old Countess of Desmond"[16]; T. Strype, "The Life of Sir Thomas Smith"[17]; and J. H. Wiffen, "Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell."[18] In the light of new

[1] Vol. i. London, 1883.
[2] Dublin, 1770.
[3] Belfast, 1873.
[4] First Series. London, 1894.
[5] Edited by J. Maclean. London, 1857.
[6] London, 1867.
[7] Dublin, 1894.
[8] Second edition. Dublin, 1870. It is a very rhetorical book. It is indexed, and there are documents in the appendix. The bibliography in Mr. Dunlop's fine article on Tyrone in the *D. N. B.* reveals the information in the British Museum and in the Reports of the Hist. MSS. Com.
[9] Dublin, 1846.
[10] Edited by D. Murphy, and translated by E. O'Reilly. Dublin, 1893. The original MS. is in the R.I.A. There is a copy of the translation in the British Museum, Egerton MS. 123.
[11] Lisbon, 1655. Translation with Memoir and Notes by C. P. Meehan. Dublin, 1847.
[12] Dublin, 1860.
[13] *Ibid.*, 1900.
[14] London, 1728.
[15] *Ibid.*, 1626.
[16] Dublin, 1861.
[17] London, 1698.
[18] Vol. ii. London, 1833.

documents there is need of fresh biographies of Essex, Mountjoy, and Tyrone. With Essex it is necessary to remember that Ireland was in a most critical condition, and that all Europe was aware of this. The country would have been a province of Spain had it not been for the determination of Tyrone not to attack till the troops of Philip II. had arrived. With Mountjoy in command the situation so altered that in 1600 Tyrone contemplated seeking safety in flight, an intention put into effect seven years later. No biographer has brought out with sufficient emphasis the fact that the aims of Tyrone were tribal, not national. He never dreamt of attaining supremacy over all Ireland.

Family Histories.

These are valuable on account of the letters and papers they sometimes contain. Among them are the Earl of Belmore, "The History of Two Ulster Manors"[1]; M. J. Blake's fine volume on "Blake Family Records"[2]; the Duke of Leinster, "The Earls of Kildare"[3]; the O'Conor Don (C. O.), "The O'Conors of Connaught"[4]; J. C. O'Meagher, "Some Historical Notices of the O'Meaghers of Ikerrin"[5]; and Viscount Powerscourt, "Muniments of the Ancient Family of Wingfield."[6] We add remarks on two of them. Mr. Blake adds considerably to our understanding of the social changes in the west of Ireland from 1300 to 1600. The Blake family has been long and honourably connected with Galway, and though the history of this town is well known through the excellent history of J. Hardiman,[7] yet Mr. Blake illuminates the whole period. The volume of the O'Conor Don is somewhat too genealogical for the average reader. Still, it enables us to watch the slowness of the Tudor conquest in reaching the O'Conors in the sixteenth century. It had overtaken the O'Conors of Offaly, the O'Moores of Leix, and the princely house of

[1] Dublin, 1881: London, 1903. The Manors are Finagh (co. Tyrone), and Coole (co. Fermanagh).
[2] First Series. London, 1902. The index to this series is in the second series.
[3] Second edition. Dublin, 1858. The addenda of this edition are absent in the third edition. Dublin, 1858.
[4] Dublin, 1891. [5] London, 1886. [6] *Ibid.*, 1894.
[7] "History of the Town and County of Galway." Dublin, 1820.

Desmond. The turn of the west came. Hugh O'Conor eagerly accepted a knighthood from Sir John Perrot and a confirmation of his claims to his immense domains. But in the end he too went under before the increasing authority of the Tudor.

Among the officials there are such illustrious names as Sir Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser. Sir John Hennessy wrote an interesting volume on "Sir Walter Raleigh in Ireland,"[1] and in it he gives letters of Raleigh bearing on Irish affairs. With inimitable charm Dean R. W. Church sketched the life and work of Spenser, and in his fourth chapter he discusses the career of Spenser in Ireland.[2] It is an unsatisfactory chapter largely because the writer was not familiar with the trend of events in Ireland, and he did not discern their influence on the composition of the "Faerie Queene." This was done by C. Litton Falkiner in a delightful essay on "Spenser in Ireland."[3] This essay is at least as valuable to the student of literature as to the student of history. The reference to literature suggests education. The Rev. T. Corcoran edits "State Policy in Irish Education, A.D. 1536 to 1616, exemplified in Documents selected for Lectures to Post-Graduate Classes."[4] Some of these documents are in Blue Books and publications of the Record Office, and one-quarter of them have never appeared in print. Books like these will render it possible, some day, to write a history of Irish thought. In her "Making of Ireland" Mrs. Green has essayed this task and met with conspicuous success. The Right Hon. D. H. Madden in his "Classical Learning in Ireland"[5] has furnished an inspiring sketch.

[1] London, 1883.
[2] R. W. Church, "Spenser." London, 1894.
[3] "Essays Relating to Ireland," pp. 3–31.
[4] Dublin, 1916.
[5] London, 1908.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 34

EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A.,
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IRELAND, 1603-1714

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LONDON
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1920

PREFACE

Mr. R. Dunlop has compiled two fine bibliographies on the period practically covered in this book. They are to be found in Vol. IV. of the "Cambridge Modern History," pp. 913–918, and Vol. V., pp. 829-837. For some of the matters discussed I may be permitted to refer to my "Public Record Office, Dublin," and my "Some Documents in Trinity College, Dublin."

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IRELAND, 1603-1714

The leading features of the Ireland of the seventeenth century are the decline in the power of Parliament, the Ulster Plantation, the 1641 Rebellion, the Restoration Settlement, and the Penal Laws.

The Irish Parliament, 1603–1714.

One outstanding feature is the rare meeting of Parliament down to the year 1692. It met in 1613, 1634, 1639, and 1661. There was one intermission from 1586 to 1613, another from 1615 to 1634, another from 1648 to 1661, and another from 1666 to 1692. The official account takes no notice of the "Patriot Parliament" of James II., but its doings have been chronicled by Thomas Davis.[1] It is clear from the Journals of the House of Commons and from the Council Books of such towns as Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale[2] that down to the Restoration there was no great desire manifested to sit as members of Parliament. This is proved by the fact that the Sheriff for Louth

[1] London, 1893, ed. Sir C. Gavan Duffy. *Cf.* T. D. Ingram, "Two Chapters of Irish History," London, 1888.

[2] *Cf.* R. Caulfield, Council Books of the Corporation of Cork (1876), of Youghal (1878), and of Kinsale (1879). All published at Guildford.

ignored in 1639 one of the boroughs in his county,[1] that in 1640 the Lord Chancellor was indifferent in issuing writs for by-elections,[2] and that in 1641 many boroughs failed to elect members.[3] It ought to be remembered that in 1613 the knights of the shire, the citizens, and the burgesses received their wages,[4] and at Cork wages were paid as late as 1641.[5] Indeed it was not till the resolution of 1666 that the general end of the payment of wages came.[6] The number of the members in the House of Commons in 1692 was three hundred. From this date the demand for seats was more ardent than even after 1660.

James I. was anxious that in his first Parliament, 1613, there should be representatives of the Irish race, but for fear they might outvote his policy he increased the number of members by creating boroughs in Ulster. Up to this time there were forty-four boroughs, but James I. enfranchised forty-six more, and granted to Trinity College, Dublin, the privilege of returning members. Charles I. created one borough[7] and Charles II. fifteen. In 1692 there were 117 cities or corporate boroughs returning two members each, and there were also sixty-four knights of the shire and two burgesses from Trinity College.

Local records render it plain that it was the intention of the Government to leave the towns

[1] H. of C. Journals, i. 137. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 163. [3] *Ibid.*, i. 241.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. 21. [5] R. Caulfield, Council Book of Cork, 202.
[6] H. of C. Journals, i., pt. 2, 772.
[7] Irish Municipal Commission, 1835, 1st Rep., 10, 11.

enfranchised under the control of the landed proprietors. In the election of burgesses at Clonakilty, for instance, the corporation was ordered to take the advice of the lord of the town.[1] At Blessington the elections, by the term of the charter, were to be held in the hall of Blessington House.[2] Charles II. incorporated Castlemartyr in the interest of the first Earl of Orrery.[3] Of course in England it was common to meet with boroughs enfranchised at the request of the gentry of the district, but these boroughs were not permanently under the local magnates. In England there really was a town to be enfranchised, whereas in Ireland charters were bestowed with a view to establishing a town which never actually came into being. The site of Bannow was a heap of sand.[4] At Harristown there was no house, and at Clonmines only one.[5]

In the Parliament of 1613 there were 232 members, of whom 101 were Roman Catholic. This is the first Parliament which contained a general representation of the whole country. In the Parliament there were almost as many Roman Catholics as Protestants. There was no reason why they should not vote for members and become members to the days of the Revolution, for there were no oaths which uniformly excluded them.[6]

[1] Irish Municipal Commission, 1st Rep., pt. 1, App. 21.
[2] Sir J. Newport, "State of Borough Representation in Ireland from 1783 to 1800," 28.
[3] "An Account of the Life, Character, and Parliamentary Conduct of the Rt. Hon. Henry Boyle, Esq.," 12.
[4] Irish Municipal Commission, 1835, 1st Rep., App. pt. 1, 448.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1st Rep., App. pt. 1, 492.
[6] Mountmorres, "Ancient Parliaments of Ireland," i. 157.

The 2nd of Elizabeth, c. 1, simply enacted an oath of allegiance to the Crown and a disavowal of any foreign authority, and was taken by members. Many of them took this oath in the Parliament of 1639–48,[1] and it was proposed in 1642 to make it compulsory.[2] The Parliament of 1661 did not think it necessary to administer this oath. The proposal to make it obligatory failed in 1663 and 1677.[3] The Revolution altered the whole matter, for in 1692 it was required that persons elected to the House of Commons must take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy under regulations similar to those enforced in England.[4] It was not till 1829 that this disqualification was removed.

The boroughs passed completely under the control of the aristocracy to 1800, when £1,260,000 was paid as compensation to the owners of eighty-four boroughs. In 1783, according to Plowden,[5] there were six freeman boroughs, and these were Carrickfergus, Cork, Drogheda, Dublin, Londonderry, and Waterford. In his illuminating survey Mr. Porritt[6] reckons that there were ninety-three boroughs under the control of patron-managed

[1] H. of C. Journals, i. 602. [2] *Ibid.* i. 297.

[3] Mountmorres, *op. cit.*, i. 159, 160.

[4] 3 Will. and Mary, c. 2: "English Statutes." *Cf.* H. of C. Journals, ii. 9; J. W. Brown, "An Historical Account of the Laws created against the Catholics both in England and Ireland," 157. *Cf.* also C. Butler, "Historical Account of the Laws respecting Roman Catholics and of the Laws passed for their Relief" (London, 1795), and his "Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scotch Catholics since the Reformation" (3 vols. London, 1819–21); and W. J. Amherst, "History of Catholic Emancipation" (2 vols. London, 1886).

[5] "An Historical Review of the State of Ireland," iv., App. 53.

[6] "The Unreformed House of Commons," ii. 299.

corporations. Of these fifty-three were under the control of their charter, and forty, originally free, by usurpation. In 1781 Parliament regarded borough representation as property. By the 21 and 22 Geo. III., c. 24, Roman Catholics were enabled to purchase freehold land, but could not purchase advowsons and manors or boroughs returning members of Parliament. From 1768 to 1800 the number of members who purchased their seats was from fifty to sixty.[1] The chief borough owners were such powerful families as the Beresfords, the Downshires, the Ponsonbys, and the Shannons. In 1800 Lord Downshire directly controlled seven seats; Lord Ely six; the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Abercorn, Lord Belmore, Lord Clifden, Lord Granard, and Lord Shannon, four seats. Indirectly they controlled far more. The Beresfords, the Downshires, and the Ponsonbys controlled over twenty-two seats. The price of their support was patronage bestowed upon their followers. "Most Irish gentlemen," confessed Buckinghamshire in 1779, "enter my closet with a P in their mouths —Place, Pension, Peerage, or Privy Council." The statement is as true of 1679 as of 1779.

The effectiveness with which the county families manipulated the boroughs was rendered all the easier by the narrowing of the franchise, largely due to local influence, not to the influence of the House of Commons. All the conditions of national

[1] Castlereagh Correspondence, ii. 151; Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 277 (Brit. Mus.).

life—the political, religious, economic, and social conditions—favoured the exercise of power by the patron. What were called towns were no more than hamlets, and some of them existed only on paper. The Protestants were in a minority on the list of inhabitants, but were in a majority on the voting list. In time the non-resident members of the corporation came to outnumber the resident members. There was one striking difference between municipal life in England and Scotland and municipal life in Ireland. Though men sought in the other two countries to enter Parliamentary life they attended to some of their municipal duties, whereas in Ireland they grossly neglected them, especially after 1660 and 1688. It is clear from the Irish charters that the sole purpose which they contemplated was the return of members to the House of Commons. The New Rules of 1672 constituted the municipal code of the country, and by that code there must be a sovereign or mayor chosen according to law simply because such an official was required for the furtherance of a Parliamentary election. Killibegs, for example, "never exercised any function save that of the assembling annually of a few members to maintain its existence, and to return to the House of Commons the nominees of the patron."[1] As there was no civic life, there was no constitutional life or spirit.

When the Municipal Commissioners of 1833–35

[1] Irish Municipal Commission, 1835, 1st Rep., App. pt. 1, 1100.

investigated matters they found forty-six corporations which resembled English freeman boroughs. These were such old towns as Athlone, Carrickfergus, Cork, Drogheda, Dublin, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, Waterford, and Wexford—towns enfranchised before 1603—and towns such as Banagher, Bandon, Kinsale, Philipstown, and Youghal. In the opinion of Gale, the freeholders were the oldest voters known to the law:[1] they enjoyed the franchise along with the freemen. With the exception of the Quakers[2] and the Roman Catholics, there was little restriction of the granting of the freedom. Before 1688 birth, marriage, or servitude sufficed for admission to the freedom. In the days of James I. a barber at Youghal became free "on condition that he shall trim every freeman of the town at the rate of sixpence a year."[3] Another stranger won his freedom on condition that "he would glaze the windows of the thosel [*i.e.*, the town hall]."[4] A cook was admitted if he dressed a dinner for the mayor and aldermen each year.[5]

The policy of the Viceroy, Essex, from 1672 to 1677, during his first administration, requires investigation. Though he aimed at the maintenance of the Protestant interest, he was determined not to persecute the Roman Catholics. He did not, however, care to admit the latter to the magistracy, except in special cases where the King should

[1] P. Gale, "An Enquiry into the Ancient Corporation System of Ireland" (London, 1834), 39.
[2] R. Caulfield, Council Book of Youghal, 317.
[3] *Ibid.*, 34. [4] *Ibid.*, 64. [5] *Ibid.*, 86.

exercise his power of dispensing with the oath of supremacy. "I do verily believe," he says, "that if Romanists be admitted to the magistracy in corporations, it will upon the whole be a hindrance to trade here; for I am confident . . . that if this should once be allowed, many wealthy trading Protestants would upon that score withdraw themselves and their stocks."[1] At the same time he refused to carry out the order for the disarming of the Roman Catholics.[2] As he was pursuing his policy of moderation he was afraid he might lose the support of the King, and he had to fight against the intolerance of the English House of Commons and against that of the Ulster Nonconformists. The Presbyterians had increased rapidly in numbers since the days of Strafford, and in 1679 Essex reckoned them at 60,000 or 100,000 fighting men. They were all the more formidable because of their close connection with the Scots.

Essex devised a comprehensive law applicable to all municipalities, and these New Rules he promulgated in 1672. By them the names of the chief magistrates, recorders, sheriffs, and town clerks were to be presented to the Lord-Lieutenant and the Privy Council, for their approval. If they disapproved, within ten days the corporation was obliged to declare a new election. No one could

[1] The Essex Papers, vol. i., edited for the Camden Society by O. Airy (1890), p. 19.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 124. *Cf.* also Essex's Letters (London, 1770; Dublin, 1773). There are 22 vols. of Essex's Correspondence in the British Museum.

hold office in a corporation till he had taken the oath of supremacy as established by the Act of 2 Elizabeth and the oath of allegiance. The most important of the six New Rules was that establishing easy and uniform conditions of admission to the freedom of corporations. Practically men were admitted to them at their request on payment of twenty shillings as a fine and on taking the oath of allegiance.[1] Essex insisted that Roman Catholics should be allowed to become freemen equally with Protestants.[2] The oath of supremacy excluded the Roman Catholics from municipal office but not from freedom of the town. In spite of the 4 Will. and Mary, c. 11, the New Rules allowed them, in the larger towns at least, admission to the freedom of the town and certainly to freedom of trade. Municipal life, before seats began to be in demand, was vigorous in the first half, though not in the second, of the seventeenth century.[3]

Just as Roman Catholics used to be members of the House, so, too, were Dissenters. In the 1692 Parliament there were ten Presbyterians, and in that of 1703 there were ten. Besides, they exercised a great share in municipal activity. In 1704 was wrought a complete change in their status by requiring all officials to partake of Holy Communion according to the custom of the Church of

[1] Irish Statutes, iii. 235–9.
[2] Essex Papers (ed. O. Airy), 186.
[3] Irish Municipal Commission, 1835, 1st Rep., App. pt. 1, 71, 732

Ireland. For the next seventy-five years Dissenters were excluded from the hundred municipal councils, though they could still be freemen. Curiously enough, the sacramental test did not apply to members of Parliament, and in the 1713–14 Parliament there were four Dissenters, and in that of 1716 there were six.

Corporations and patrons controlled the boroughs and the freemen, except the potwalloper boroughs, of which there were eleven, and the manor boroughs, of which there were seven. In the potwalloper boroughs every Protestant householder voted, and in the manor boroughs only freeholders voted. The potwalloper boroughs were Antrim, Baltimore, Downpatrick, Knocktopher, Lisburn, Lismore, Newry, Randalstown, Rathcormac, Swords, and Tallaght. Downpatrick, Knocktopher, and Swords owed their wide Parliamentary franchises to the Act of 1542.[1] James I. created the potwalloper boroughs of Baltimore, Lismore, Newry, and Tallaght; while Charles II. created those of Antrim, Randalstown, and Rathcormac. The great Earl of Cork procured the charter of Lismore in 1613, and the last to be granted was that of Randalstown (1683). The popular character of manor boroughs was due to sheer accident, for the corporations contemplated in the respective charters never came into existence, and therefore the freeholders voted as they pleased. Still, as no manor borough had more than thirty voters, the task of the patron

[1] 33 Henry VIII., c. 1.

in controlling them was not difficult. There were not the English traditions of constitutionalism to guide the sheriffs, and the elections took place at infrequent intervals. The sheriffs became partisan. In 1709 the House reprimanded the Sheriff of Kerry because he settled the qualifications of a candidate.[1] The Sheriff of Galway at the same election arrested voters who supported candidates to whom he was opposed.[2] At Carlow the sovereign of the town, who was the returning officer, stood as a candidate.[3] The Sheriff of Cavan used his position in order to lend his aid to one of the candidates.[4]

Privilege exists from the reign of Edward IV., for the 3 Edw. IV., c. 1, was modelled upon the law of the English Parliament. In 1614 this Act was interpreted to "extend to all the members of this House, their servants, goods, and possessions for forty days before the beginning of every Parliament and for forty days after the end . . . of the same."[5] In 1646–47 this interpretation was widened to prevent the billeting of soldiers on members.[6] In 1695 there is a trace of the *droit administratif*, for members were obliged to obtain permission of the House to plead in the law courts when suits were brought against them.[7] In 1707 the extensions of privilege were curtailed.

The House of Commons looked with jealous eyes on the unauthorised printing of its proceedings.

[1] H. of C. Journals, ii. 617.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 648.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 775.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii. 27.
[5] *Ibid.*, i. 26.
[6] *Ibid.*, i. 353, 359, 363.
[7] *Ibid.*, ii. 141.

In 1662 Dancer, a Dublin bookseller, was taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms for printing the Speaker's speech. As Samuel Johnson took care that the Whig dogs should not, in his reports of the speeches delivered, have the best of it, there was similar misrepresentation in Dublin. The outcome was the delay of this liberty. In 1690 Joseph Ray, of College Street, Dublin, issued the newspaper the *Dublin Intelligence*. In 1700 there followed *Pue's Occurrences*, and in 1728 *Falkiner's Journal*.

Irish history is not marked by struggles between the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The latter might reject a money Bill, but it might not originate it. The Upper House was indeed a small and feeble body. In the reign of Charles II. there were 137 members, composed of 33 earls, 49 viscounts, 4 archbishops, 18 bishops, and 33 barons. The Revolution of 1688 reduced this scanty number, and from 1692 their unimportance, with signal individual exceptions, equalled their scantiness. In 1615, not in 1715, the Lords complained that the Commons exhibited undue legislative zeal. Unlike the sixteenth century House of Commons, the Parliament in 1634–35,[1] in 1641,[2] and in 1662[3] pressed for larger powers than those allowed them by Poynings' Law. It felt that it was in the plight of M. Noirtier de Villefort in "Monte Cristo," who was completely paralysed

[1] H. of C. Journals, i. 128.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 167.
[3] *Ibid.*, i., pt. 2, 566, 617.

except for one eye. Like him the Parliament possessed a single faculty, that of saying "Yes" or "No."

Francis Echlin was about to marry a Roman Catholic, and his eldest son petitioned the House of Commons in 1692 for a Parliamentary settlement of the estates already settled upon him. To this petition the House assented, and passed a resolution declaring "that the House doth agree with the said committee that the several heads in the report mentioned shall be heads of a Bill to be presented and transmitted to England."[1] This important precedent influenced legislation deeply, for from 1703 to 1713 Bills originated as frequently with Parliament as with the administration.[2] Down to 1782 there were two classes of Bills—Government Bills and those which had not originated with the Government. The stages in the first class were the same as those of a measure passed at Westminster. The stages of the second were quite different, and the chief difference was that the heads of the Bill were sent to the Lord-Lieutenant, not to the House of Lords, and then they were transmitted by the Privy Council in Dublin to the Privy Council in London.

A General Survey.

Throughout the century there are the three invaluable volumes of Mr. Bagwell. S. R. Gardiner,

[1] *Ibid.*, ii. 22, 23, 26.

[2] *Cf.* the writer's "Revolutionary Ireland and its Settlement," 333–42.

in his massive "History of England, 1603–56,"[1] bestows much attention on Irish affairs, which he discusses with unfailing knowledge and unfailing insight. Mr. C. H. Firth carried on Gardiner's work in two volumes, which continue, in the admirable spirit of Gardiner, the narrative to 1658.[2] It is difficult to praise Gardiner's work as it ought to be praised because, when strong commendation is bestowed, it is apt to provoke a reaction in the mind of the reader. Certainly he and Mr. Bagwell were masters of the seventeenth century. Major G. B. O'Connor has written a clear account of "Stuart Ireland, Catholic and Puritan."[3] There is no more attractive figure than the great Duke of Ormonde. From Strafford to Tyrconnel he counts as one of the most outstanding men in the country. He attracted Carlyle in spite of his panegyric of Cromwell, and he attracted Lord Morley. T. Carte wrote his Life,[4] and the royalist predilections of the author are plain in all he writes. In his desire to apologise for the gentry of the Pale, Carte goes too far when he regards them as the victims of a Puritan plot. The letters in the appendix are valuable, and they draw our attention to the 109 volumes in the Bodleian.[5] Sir J. T. Gilbert[6] edited two volumes of the

[1] London, 1895–1903. 18 vols. [2] *Ibid.*, 1909. [3] Dublin, 1910.

[4] "History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde, 1610–88" (6 vols. Oxford, 1851). *Cf.* "A Collection of Original Letters and Papers, 1641–60" (2 vols. London, 1739).

[5] *Cf.* the Report of C. W. Russell and J. T. Prendergast in the 32nd Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, App. I. London, 1871.

[6] Old Series, 2 vols. Hist. MSS. Comm. London, 1895.

Ormonde Manuscripts, and Mr. C. Litton Falkiner and Mr. F. Elrington Ball[1] edited seven volumes. Lady Burghclere has written a careful "Life of Ormonde."[2]

J. A. Froude writes on "The English in the Eighteenth Century,"[3] but he devotes the larger part of his first volume to the seventeenth. In spite of his bias, his book is valuable because he consulted the original sources. W. E. H. Lecky wrote his "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,"[4] largely as a reply to Froude. Lecky is very much to be reckoned with when we come to the year 1780, but before that time his book possesses no independent value, as he had not read the documents—*e.g.*, the Depositions of the 1641 rising. Much of his first volume concerns the seventeenth century. Throughout this century L. von Ranke's six volumes deserve careful attention: he gave particular care to the Williamite period.[5] We know no more valuable book for the study of the Irish Revolution of 1688, in its wider aspects, than O. Klopp's "Der Fall des Hauses Stuart": it is a mine of information and of ideas.[6] My "Revolutionary Ireland and its Settlement (1688–1714)"[7] is not so much a history of Ireland as an attempt to weigh the effects of the policy of Louis XIV. on the destinies of the country. Lord

[1] New Series, 7 vols. Hist. MSS. Comm. London, 1902–12.
[2] London, 1912. 2 vols.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1906. 3 vols
[4] *Ibid.*, 1896. 5 vols.
[5] "History of England principally in the Seventeenth Century" (Oxford, 1875).
[6] Vienna, 1875–88. 14 vols.
[7] London, 191[illegible].

Macaulay's volumes[1] are too well known to require that commendation they undoubtedly deserve. The more I work, the more I am impressed by the amazing acquaintance Macaulay possessed with the manuscripts and the pamphlets of his period. In "Two Centuries of Irish History, 1691–1870,"[2] W. K. Sullivan presents an able sketch of Irish history from 1691 to 1782. In his illuminating "Illustrations of Irish History and Topography," C. Litton Falkiner explores delightfully many of the lesser known aspects of the seventeenth century.[3]

Original Sources.

The Record Office, London, possesses an ample store in the Letters and Papers, 1603–1714, 129 vols.; the Irish Letter Books, 1627–1714, 16 vols.; with an index to the Letter Books, 1643–1714, 2 vols.; Warrants by the Lords Justices and Council, 1641–November, 1642, 1 vol.; Entry Books, 1647–48, 1 vol.; Notes relating to Ireland (Sir J. Williamson's Collection) and Genealogical Notes (the same collection), 2 vols.; an Undated Alphabetical Index relating to Ireland, 1 vol.; an Account of Money received and paid for Public Use in Ireland, 1649–56, 1 vol.; Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, 1642–59, with an Index, 17 vols.; the Secretary's Letter Book, 1661–1714, 10 vols.; an Entry Book of Proclamations, 1661–75, 1 vol.; a Register of Military and Civil Estab-

[1] "History of England" (8 vols. London), 1858–62.
[2] London, 1888.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1904.

lishments in Ireland, 1700–20, 1 vol.; Ecclesiastical Regulations, 1711–13, 3 vols.; Revenue Accounts, 1707, 1 vol.; and Warrants, 1713–14, 1 vol.[1]

The Record Office, Dublin, possesses the fifty-six volumes dealing with the official correspondence of the Government of Ireland under the Commonwealth.[2] Mr. R. Dunlop printed the most noteworthy, and prefaced his book by a powerful survey of Irish history from 1541 to 1659.[3] The Depositions concerning the loss of life and property during the Rebellion of 1641 are preserved in Trinity College, Dublin. There are miscellaneous documents, giving the original correspondence of Henry Cromwell, the Minutes of the Committee for Irish Affairs, etc., in the British Museum, among the Lansdowne,[4] the Harleian,[5] the Sloane,[6] the Egerton,[7] and the Additional MSS.[8] The Record Office, Dublin, possesses a series of folio volumes, giving original documents and transcripts from 1660 to 1674.[9] It also contains the proceedings of the Court of Claims,[10] thirty-five volumes, and the

[1] Down to 1670 these are described in considerable detail in the official "Calendars of State Papers relating to Ireland." From 1670 onwards they are included in the "Calendar of State Papers—Domestic."

[2] See my "Public Record Office, Dublin," pp. 21-24, 46.

[3] "Ireland under the Commonwealth" (Manchester, 1913. 2 vols.).

[4] MSS. 692, 821–23.

[5] MSS. 2048, 2138, 5999.

[6] MSS. 3838, 4763, 4769, 4771–72, 4782, 4798, 4819, 5014.

[7] MS. 1048.

[8] MSS. 8883, 19845, 21135, 24860, 25277, 25287, 32093.

[9] 15th Annual Report of the Record Commissioners, 1825; Deputy-Keeper's Report, xix., App. V.

[10] The Supplement to the Eighth Report of the Record Commissioners, 1819, pp. 248–300.

books of Survey and Distribution. On the last two matters there are some volumes in Trinity College, Dublin.

Authorities on the Jacobite War.

In the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, there are seven folio volumes of much importance. These volumes begin with a proclamation of 1671, and a list of goods sold by Arthur Gore on June 19, 1676, and proceed to give a letter of Tyrconnel, December 18, 1689, which informs us that the Derry people "continue obstinate in their rebellion." They come down to February, 1692, when they cease. Among them are original letters from James to Hamilton, while the latter was engaged in the siege of the maiden city. In Trinity College, Dublin, is preserved the correspondence of George Clarke, Secretary-at-War (1690–92). Clarke's thirteen volumes are larger than the seven of the R.I.A., and they deal with operations all over Ireland. This secretary preserved all letters sent to him, and from them an intelligible account of the Williamite side of the war can be obtained. From the Jacobite standpoint they can be supplemented by the important material in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères. The British Foreign Office privately printed thirty copies of "Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande, 1689–90," and it is an invaluable book of over 750 pages, throwing much light on the plans of Louis XIV. Of course the d'Avaux is based on MSS. in Paris.

Much trouble is caused to the student by the fact that these supplementary papers are in Dublin and Paris respectively, for they afford valuable insight into the minds of the French generals and into the mind of the French King.

The Bodleian Library contains the Nairne Papers (1689–1701); some of these have been printed by J. Macpherson in his "Original Papers." The papers of Sir Robert and Edward Southwell, principal Secretaries of State in Ireland, are now divided between the British Museum, Trinity College, Dublin, and the Public Record Office of the same city. These papers, however, are more valuable for the rest of William's reign than for the early period. Dr. T. K. Abbott's "Catalogue of the MSS. in T.C.D." gives particulars of such sources as I.6.9, three volumes, E.2.19, F.4.3, and K.4.10. In the Public Record Office, Dublin, the letters written in 1690 to Edward Southwell from Cork, Kinsale, and other towns (125/1), and those written in 1690 and in 1690–93 to Edward and Robert relating to French prisoners and French privateers and other matters (125/3, 132, 138, 141/5, 142), deserve attention. As yet all these sources are unpublished.

Among the published authorities J. S. Clarke's "Life of James II." ranks as a primary authority. James, like his cousin Louis XIV., spent time in compiling an account of his life. Before he sent his wife and child with Lauzun to a place of safety in 1688 he secured his Memoirs, which he had kept

most carefully. James enclosed them in a box which he entrusted to Terresi, the Tuscan envoy. While the exile was living at Saint-Germain he added notes upon later events. During the French Revolution the MS. of the Memoirs was burnt. Tradition relates that it was brought to Saint-Omer with the intention of depositing it securely in England, but as it bore the arms of France and England fear of the revolutionary Government caused its destruction. Though the Memoirs thus perished, yet a biography based upon them remained in existence. King James's son gave orders for a Life of his father soon after 1701. Ranke does not think that evidence exists to warrant the assumption that Innes, Principal of the Scots College, had the largest share in the composition, though James confided his Memoirs and papers to Innes a few months before his death.

The Chevalier de Saint-George read the Life, underlined passages in it, and bequeathed it to his family. In 1707 he sent for that part of the Memoirs which referred to the year 1678. After the death of the Duchess of Albany, the wife of Charles Edward, the Life passed into the hands of the Benedictines at Rome, and was purchased by the British Government. The Napoleonic wars placed obstacles in the way of its safe transmission. It came to Leghorn, then to Tunis, then to Malta, and at last, in 1810, to England. The Prince Regent, who had a regard for the Stuarts, requested his chaplain and librarian, J. Stanier Clarke, to

edit it, and in 1816 two handsome volumes were issued.

The Life is in four parts. The first, which is unimportant, goes down to the Restoration in 1660; the second, which is most valuable, to the accession of James II.; the third to his flight from England at the end of 1688; and the fourth embraces the rest of his life. Ranke[1] analyses the worth of the four parts with his usual acuteness. It is clear that the original was written in a fragmentary fashion—the most detailed portions by James, others compiled by his secretaries. Ranke did not use the Caryll Papers, which show that John Caryll, secretary to James's wife, Mary Beatrice, was working at the Life. Its originals are preserved at Windsor, with the other Stuart Papers.[2] At Welbeck there is a MS. (folio) which successively belonged to Henri Oswald de la Tour d'Auvergne, Archbishop of Vienna, Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, Sir Thomas Phillips, and the Duke of Portland. The title of this MS. is "Memoires de Jacques Second, Roy de la Grande Bretagne, etc. De glorieuse Memoire. Contenant l'histoire des quatre Campagnes que sa Majesté fit, estant Duc de York, sous Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne, dans les Années, 1652, 1653, 1654 et 1655. . . . Traduits

[1] "History of England," vi. 29–45.

[2] Campana di Cavelli, *Quarterly Review*, December, 1846; *Gentleman's Magazine*, No. 2, New Series, February 1, 1866, by M. Woodward. The Stuart papers are being calendared by the Historical MSS. Commission.

sur l'Original Anglois écrit de la propre main de sa dite Majesté, conservé par son ordre dans les Archives du Collège des Ecossois à Paris. Le tout certifié et attesté par la Reyne Mère et Regente de la Grande Bretagne, etc., MDCCIV." From his careful survey of the Memoirs, Ranke concludes that the biography is not the work of James. The extracts, however, of Carte and Macpherson prove that it is based on autobiographical notes and other authentic material. When the biographer does not use these, his work possesses little value: where he agrees with the extracts, there is little doubt that we have genuine autobiographic material. The fourth part has much to say on the war in Ireland. James drew up several reports on this war and sent them to Louis; these reports and the biography exhibit substantial agreement. In Macpherson's "Original Papers"[1] there are passages identical with the words of the biography.

In the "Memoirs of Sir J. Dalrymple"[2] there is printed a useful selection of letters. Mr. W. J. Hardy edited the "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, William and Mary"[3]; volumes i., ii., and iii. cover the years 1689 to 1691.

The author of "A Light to the Blind" is probably Nicholas Plunket, an able lawyer, member of a branch of the House of Fingal. Under the pseudonym of John Rogers he acted in 1713–14

[1] London, 1775. On the value of Macpherson, *cf.* the *E. H. R.*, xii. 254 ff.

[2] London, 1790. 3 vols.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1895, etc.

as a secret agent in England and on the Continent, working zealously in the interests of James Francis Edward Stuart. Together with the secretary of James, David Nairne, he planned a Jacobite descent to make their master James III. of England. The exact title of Plunket's volume is "A Light to the Blind; whereby they may see the dethronement of James the second, king of England: with a brief narrative of his war in Ireland: and of the war between the emperor and the king of France for the crown of Spain. Anno 1711." It begins with an account of James II. before and after his succession to the crown, and furnishes details of the last days and death of that monarch in September, 1701. There are three books, and the third discusses Continental affairs during the War of the Spanish Succession. "A Light to the Blind" is written from the standpoint of a firm believer in the Stuart cause. To Plunket James is the lawful king and William merely the Prince of Orange. The war is regarded as a revolt from the rule of the Sovereign, who ruled by right divine. Plunket, moreover, is persuaded that the Duke of Tyrconnel was a statesman of the first order. His death "pulled down a mighty edifice—a considerable Catholic nation—for there was no other subject left able to support the national cause." Towards Sarsfield the writer assumes an attitude of hostility, though he praises the "noble feat" of the destruction of the Williamite artillery at Ballyneety. "A Light to the Blind" bestows

much attention upon the schemes of Louis XIV., and indicates why the French monarch should support the Irish. It ought to be added that Sir J. T. Gilbert issued a poor edition of "A Light to the Blind," published under the title of "A Jacobite Narrative of the War in Ireland (1689–91)"[1]; it can also be read in the Tenth Report, Appendix, part 5, of the Historical Manuscripts Commission (pp. 107–204).

Colonel Charles O'Kelly (1621–95), in his "Macariae Excidium, or The Destruction of Cyprus,"[2] writes from the point of view of one who fought on the side of King James. He had fought for the Stuarts from the days of Cromwell, and he finally sheathed his sword in 1691. He was an old man when he served under Sarsfield, but he was defeated by Captain Thomas Lloyd. After the conclusion of the war he retired to his residence at Aughrane, now Castle Kelly, where he spent his remaining days in writing his history of the Irish wars. It affects to be a history of the destruction of Cyprus (Ireland), written originally in Syriac by Philotas Phylocypres (O'Kelly). The internal evidence points to the conclusion that the Latin text is the original of O'Kelly's narrative. Unlike Plunket, he is not at all friendly to Tyrconnel, and is a warm partisan of St. Ruth. Making allowance for these prejudices, "Macariae Excidium" is a very able record.

[1] Dublin, 1892.

[2] Ed. J. C. O'Callaghan, Dublin, 1846. Ed. Count Plunket and E. Hogan under the title of "The Jacobite War in Ireland" (Dublin, 1894).

William King, the greatest Archbishop of Dublin, wrote "The State of the Protestants in Ireland under the late King James's Government: in which their Carriage towards him is justified, and the absolute Necessity of their endeavouring to be freed from his Government, and of submitting to their present Majesties' is demonstrated."[1] The title of this book indicates precisely its object: it is an apologia for the Revolution. With it may be compared Charles Leslie's "Answer to a Book intituled The State of the Protestants in Ireland."[2] It is no injustice, however, to Leslie to say that King's book is incomparatively superior. Moreover, the facts that King gives are correct, though now and then he uses rhetoric. His references to contemporary events are faithful, though his inferences are occasionally open to comment. One case may be given. King is contrasting the state of Ireland before and after the Revolution, and here one might expect that his eloquence and his indignation might overcome his regard for truth. As a matter of fact they do not. Such MSS. as Add. 21138, 17406, and 2902 (British Museum) provide chapter and verse for every statement King makes. His correspondence is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, and it covers in thirty-eight volumes the period from 1681 to 1729. This correspondence the writer has read and reread, and every fresh reading confirms his respect for the accuracy and the insight of King.

[1] London, 1691. [2] *Ibid.*, 1692.

Its evidential evidence stands high, for the letters he wrote to his numerous correspondents, gentle and simple, were written while the events were fresh. A man who has good opportunities of learning the truth about public affairs, and has been in the habit of recording matters when they happen, as King did, is an invaluable witness. It is interesting to observe the change in his attitude to public affairs. He was of Scots descent, and at first regarded events in Ireland from an external point of view, but as he grew older he became warmly interested in the stirring events of his day. The majority of his critics have judged him by his "State of the Protestants in Ireland": they have not judged him by his singularly able and statesmanlike letters. The perusal of a letter such as that of January 6, 1697 (197, f. 151, British Museum) is enough to convince the student that he is dealing with an authority of the highest value and impartiality.

Among the published material it is difficult to find detailed accounts of the Jacobite War. Works like Dumont de Bostaquet's "Mémoires inédits,"[1] Berwick's "Mémoires,"[2] Schomberg's "Diary,"[3] the "Journal" of S. Mullenaux,[4] and R. Parker's "Memoirs,"[5] give on the whole scanty detail. The few unpublished records resemble the published in this matter. Thus, Ensign Cramond's diary

[1] Paris, 1864. [2] Paris, 1778. 2 vols. London, 1779.
[3] In that rare book, J. F. A. Kazner's "Leben Friedrichs von Schomberg oder Schoenburg" (Mannheim, 1789). There is a copy in the Acton Collection, Cambridge.
[4] London, 1690. [5] Dublin, 1746.

(Add. 29878) furnishes no information of importance. Cramond served in the Low Countries and in Ireland from 1688 to 1691, but was clearly a man of action and nothing else. Bonnivert's "Journal"[1] (1033, British Museum) is somewhat more satisfactory, though it is also deficient in detail. It is a satisfaction to turn from the meagre information of these two diaries to the comparatively ample account of John Stevens (Add. 36296). There is another version, not merely of the introduction, but of a large part of his "Journal,"[2] and this was used by Ranke.[3] It was not kept from day to day. It thus lacks order; dates are dropped into it or left out of it as the purpose of the writer is best served. On the whole, though the Journal is barren of some personal details one wants to know, it is a very human document indeed. It is plain that a scholar like Stevens did not relish his life as a soldier. He is conscious of the mistakes of his generals, of the loss of promotion, of the lack of pay, of the blisters on his feet, and of the hunger in his stomach. Stevens sees, and he makes his readers see. For the truth, the sincerity, and the reality of his account of the Jacobite War much grumbling may be forgiven him. The French point of view in this war may be studied in the Comte de Bussy-Rabutin's "Correspondence avec sa famille et ses amis,

[1] Edited by the writer in the "Transactions of the R.I.A.," January, 1913.
[2] Edited by the writer (Oxford, 1912).
[3] "History of England," vi. 128–43.

1666–93 "[1]; the magnificent collection of documents which the Marquise de Campagna di Cavelli made in her "Les derniers Stuarts"[2]: and the Marquis de Dangeau's "Journal, 1684–1720."[3]

The Reigns of James I. and Charles I.

The State Papers from 1603 to 1625 have been edited by the Rev. C. W. Russell and J. P. Prendergast,[4] from 1625 to 1670 by R. P. Mahaffy.[5] The Lismore Papers[6] consist of autobiographical notes, remembrances, and diaries of Sir Richard Boyle, first and "great" Earl of Cork. They are preserved in Lismore Castle. Boyle's diary runs from January, 1611, to August 13, 1643. The facts given in these papers range from the King to the kern. The great Earl lives and walks as realistically as Samuel Pepys or Samuel Johnson. There are facts on the life of Spenser, players and jesters in Ireland, Sir Walter Raleigh, the iron-works founded and sustained by the great Earl, and there are pleasing glimpses of family and national life. The papers as largely concern the south as the Hamilton MSS.[7] and the Montgomery MSS.[8] concern the north, especially in the days of the Ulster Plantation. There are Lives of Boyle

[1] Ed. L. Lalanne. 5 vols. 1858.
[2] Paris, 1871. 2 vols.
[3] Ed. E. Soutré, L. Dussieux, etc. 19 vols. Paris, 1854–60.
[4] London, 1872–80. 5 vols.
[5] London, 1900–11. 8 vols.
[6] Ed. A. Grosart. 2 series. 10 vols. London, 1886.
[7] Ed. T. K. Lowry. Belfast, 1867.
[8] Montgomery Manuscripts, 1603–1706 (Belfast, 1869).

by E. Budgell[1] and Mrs. D. Townshend.[2] The latter refuses to believe that he was an adventurer, like hundreds of others, only infinitely more successful. From the position of a scrivener's clerk he raised himself to be Lord Boyle, Baron of Youghal, Viscount Dungarvan, Earl of Cork, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and Privy Councillor of both Ireland and England. He acquired land, which he thoroughly developed. There is some of his correspondence in the R.I.A. and transcripts of the same in the British Museum (Egerton MS. 80).

The Rev. G. Hill wrote an able "Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster, 1608–20."[3] It is based on the State Papers, the Patent Rolls, the Inquisitions of Ulster, and the Barony Maps of 1609. The motto of the book is taken from Camden, and, used in another sense than Camden's, manifests the whole tone of this book: "If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their own soil, and foreigners in their own city, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these pains." Hill opens his narrative with a rose-coloured picture of Ulster before the Plantation. He thinks Elizabeth's rule harsh, for the Queen continued "to demoralise and oppress the people by placing garrisons in great numbers amongst them; and also to prohibit them from the free exercise of their religious worship, according

[1] London, 1732. Dublin, 1735.
[2] "The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork" (London, 1904).
[3] Belfast, 1877.

to the rites and ceremonies required by their Church."[1] In the index the name of Philip II. never occurs, and it does not seem to strike the author that his own casual reference to the goods owned by a Spaniard in Tyrone's service was a hint of the fact that many of the subjects of Philip II. were, on the first favourable opportunity, prepared to land in Ulster. The books of Bonn and Butler are most helpful on the Plantation.[2] Lord Belmore recounts the "Parliamentary Memoirs of Fermanagh and Tyrone, 1613–1885,"[3] and the "History of the Two Ulster Manors."[4] The Rev. J. B. Woodburn capably traces the evolution of "The Ulster Scot,"[5] largely from the Presbyterian standpoint. Mr. T. M. Healy writes a poor work, entitled "Stolen Waters, a Page in the Conquest of Ulster,"[6] and in it he reviews a decision of the House of Lords by which, in his opinion, Lough Neagh "was transferred into private hands."

The following contemporary accounts of Ireland in the seventeenth century repay perusal: The Itinerary of Fynes Moryson;[7] Sir Josias Bodley's visit to Lecale, 1602;[8] Luke Gernon's "Discourse of Ireland," 1620;[9] Sir William Brereton's "Travels

[1] P. 56.

[2] *Cf.* W. F. Butler, "The Policy of Surrender and Regrant," *J. R. S. A. I.*, vol. xliii., p. 101 ff., and Hore, "The Archæology of Irish Tenant Right," *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, O.S., vol. vi., p. 109.

[3] Dublin, 1887.

[4] Dublin, 1881. London, 1903. The two manors are Finagh, co. Tyrone, and Coole, co. Fermagh.

[5] London, 1914.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1913.

[7] C. Litton Falkiner, "Illustrations of Irish History," pp. 211-325.

[8] *Ibid.*, 326–44.

[9] *Ibid.*, 345–62.

in Ireland," 1635;[1] M. Jorevin de Rocheford's description, 1668;[2] Lithgow's "Tour in Ireland," 1619;[3] Barnaby Rich's "Remembrance of the State of Ireland in 1672";[4] a tour in Ireland, 1672;[5] Dineley, "Tour in Ireland in 1684";[6] a "Chorographic Account of the Southern Part of the County of Wexford, 1684";[7] O'Flahertie's "Chorographical Description of Iar Connaught, 1684";[8] and T. Molyneux's "Journey to Connaught, April, 1709."[9]

The Career of Strafford.

It is obvious that Strafford, the Richelieu of Ireland, came to the country with the object of reading his royal master a lesson in the art of managing Parliament, and of raising an army for the contest he foresaw in England. The chief source for his career is his Letters and Despatches,[10] and in the appendix to them his friend Sir G. Radcliffe furnishes some biographical notes. This work was edited by William Knowler from the papers of Thomas Watson, Lord Malton and afterwards first Marquess of Rockingham. Earl Fitzwilliam owns at Wentworth-Woodhouse some volumes containing Strafford's unpublished cor-

[1] C. Litton Falkiner, "Illustrations of Irish History," pp. 363–407.
[2] *Ibid.*, 408–26.
[3] *Jour. of Cork Archæol. Soc.*, vol. viii., p. 104 ff.
[4] *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxvi., p. 125 ff.
[5] *Jour. of Cork Archæol. Soc.*, vol. x., p. 89 ff.
[6] *Kilk. Archæol. Jour.*, N.S., vol. v., p. 272 ff.
[7] *Ibid.*, N.S., vol. ii., pp. 466 ff.
[8] *Ir. Archæol. Soc.*, vol. ix., pp. 15 ff.
[9] *Ibid.*, vol. i.
[10] Ed. W. Knowler, 2 vols. London, 1739.

respondence, but they are not, as yet, accessible to students. Mr. C. H. Firth edited papers relating to Strafford.[1] There is a biography of Strafford by Elizabeth Cooper[2] and another by J. Forster, published in Vol. I. of his "Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth."[3] Till the correspondence in the possession of Lord Fitzwilliam is available, the best account of Strafford is to be found in Gardiner and Bagwell, especially the former.

It is worthy of notice that the period before the advent of Strafford was one in which all parts of the country were flourishing. It is not too much to say that during the first decade of the reign of James I. the whole future of Ireland was at stake. In the north, from 1603 to 1608, conflicting ideals of race and of organisation emerged. The old order suddenly passed away when the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel embarked at Rathmullen. These Earls felt that their local tribal ideal was being replaced by a central and imperial one. Under the new régime there was no room for them, and accordingly they disappeared in 1607. Doubtless two decisions of far-reaching importance hastened their disappearance. In 1605 the judges declared gavelkind void in law and abolished tanistry. By the former custom the lands of the tribe were equally divided among its members, and by the latter they elected the tanist or successor to the chief. Thus was virtually swept

[1] Camden Soc. London, 1900.
[2] London, 1866. 2 vols.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1836

away a code which, though disturbed by the Danish and Anglo-Norman invasions, had lasted from primitive times to the seventeenth century.

The reasons assigned for this revolution in the land system are obvious. The frequent partition of property and the removal of the tribesmen from one portion of the soil to another gave rise to uncertainty of possession. Consequently no fixed habitations were erected, and no improvements made in the cultivation of the land. Ulster, in the words of Sir John Davis, "seemed to be all one wilderness before the new plantation made by the English undertakers there." This revolution, however, disregarded the fact that the chiefs held the soil on behalf of their tribes, created them absolute owners, and entirely deprived the unfortunate tribesmen of their rights of inheritance. The injury inflicted upon the peasantry lay not in the introduction of English tenure, but in the refusal to recognise any rights save those of the chief.

A colony of English and Scots Protestants, mainly labourers, weavers, mechanics, farmers, and merchants, was established upon the forfeited territories of the two Earls. As a result of this great plantation of 1608, houses and castles were built; schoolhouses and churches were erected in many parishes; the desolate wilds were covered with a happy and thriving population. But the crowning benefit was that it laid the foundation of the welfare of the northern province. Then emerged for the first time that well-known type

of Ulsterman, the self-reliant and self-confident farmer, well clothed, well fed, with corn in his haggard, store in his barn, food in his house, character in the country, and money in the bank. Thirty years had not passed before towns, fortresses, and factories were rearing their heads aloft, changing the whole face of nature and of things. The progress of Belfast dates from the year 1612, when the castle, town, and manor were granted to Sir Arthur Chichester. Its natural advantages, including the magnificent woods of the district, were at last developed. The rich pasture lands of Londonderry, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Cavan, Armagh, and Donegal, were now broken up over vast breadths by the plough of the husbandman; watermills were in full operation; the forests resounded with the ceaseless axe; orchards were planted and nursed with great care; and new tenements and streets grew up under the magic power of industry. This structure of peaceful prosperity arose so quickly because it sprang from the security of tenure which the settlement supplied. For the landlords were in every case to allot "fixed estates" to their tenants, else their own estates were in danger of forfeiture and sequestration at royal discretion. The Crown did not assign the lands in simple feudal ownership, but strictly enjoined the granting of fixed tenures; and out of these sprang that custom of tenant right which has written its history so deeply and so visibly upon the broad acres of Ulster.

The Rebellion of 1641.

What were the causes of it? Was one, as S. R. Gardiner argues, the indignation aroused by the plantations of Elizabeth and James I.? Was another—the view of Cromwell—the unprovoked massacre of the settlers by the Roman Catholics during the first year of the Rebellion? Was another, as Sir J. Temple,[1] E. Borlase,[2] and Hume think, Roman Catholic or Jesuit intrigue? Was another the hostilities awakened by the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation? Was another, as Mr. Dunlop holds, the feeling of antagonism between the English and the Irish? He dwells much on the fear of the legislation of the English Parliament entertained by the Irish. The immediate occasions were the conduct of Rory O'More, the necessities of Charles I., and the assistance promised by Cardinal Richelieu.

The investigation of the Depositions preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, is an urgent need. In "The Bloody Bridge"[3] T. Fitzpatrick has examined half a dozen cases, and books like his on other cases are an imperious necessity. Apart from considerations like this, the Depositions are as valuable as the Clarke Papers in lending assistance in the exploration of the social condition of Ireland.

It is useful to compare the Galway and Ros-

[1] "The Irish Rebellion" (London, 1646. Cork, 1766).
[2] "History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion" (London, 1680. Dublin, 1743).
[3] Dublin, 1903.

common Depositions with the Memoirs of the Earl of Clanricarde. He was the principal nobleman in Connaught at the time, a Roman Catholic in religion—the most valuable asset the Government possessed in the west of Ireland at the moment, if his general ability and strict integrity had received proper recognition. He was always seriously handicapped by the circumstance that the Lords Justices failed to appreciate the forces at work in the life of Galway. Had he received support, events might have assumed a very different course from what they did.

The Depositions declare that a kind of revolutionary Government was set up in Galway, and this Government they describe as "a Council of Eight." Of this number Clanricarde specially mentions three: Francis Blake, John Blake Fitz Nicholas, and John Blake Fitz Robert.[1] He alludes to the last two in his letter of May 27, 1642, from Portumna to the Mayor of Galway.[2] Both the Depositions and Clanricarde allude to the seizure of a ship named the *Elizabeth*, 200 tons burthen, belonging to a man named Robert Clarke. This incident was reported by Willoughby, the Governor of Galway Fort, to Clanricarde in a letter written on the night of March 19.[3] This ship left Galway for France about the beginning of November, 1641, laden with hides, tallow, and

[1] "Memoirs" (London, 1757), p. 139; Galway Depositions, F. 3, I., No. 22.

[2] "Memoirs," p. 154; Galway Depositions, F. 3, I., Nos. 20 and 22.

[3] "Memoirs," p. 81; Galway Depositions, F. 3, I., No. 15.

other commodities, and returned to Galway with arms and ammunition. John Turner, Clerk of the Fort Stores and Surveyor of Customs, seized it by virtue of a warrant from the Lords Justices in Council and also from Clanricarde, empowering him to procure two out of the five barrels of powder.[1] For this action Turner was imprisoned, but was released by Clanricarde.

At Clarenbridge, about four miles from Galway, three Englishmen were hanged by order of Lord Clanmorris.[2] Clanricarde refers to this incident in his "Memoirs,"[3] where it appears that the execution took place because one of Clanmorris's troop had been executed in Galway Fort. Clanmorris had treated the three men as spies because they carried no credentials from the Governor.

The Irish revolutionary organisation of Roscommon was effected by the conspirators at a meeting at Ballintobber about Christmas, 1641, where an oath was taken to maintain the King's prerogative and to establish the Roman religion in Ireland. From the Deposition evidence of Colonel Hugh O'Connor, we learn that the Irish appointed Clanricarde as their General, but he declined to accept the appointment until His Majesty's pleasure had been signified.[4] This is also fully borne out in the "Memoirs."[5]

The outstanding feature of the evidence relating

[1] "Memoirs," p. 42; Galway Depositions, F. 3, I., No. 15.
[2] Galway Depositions, F. 3, I., Nos. 39, 42, 61, and 79.
[3] P. 203.
[4] Roscommon Depositions, F. 3, I., No. 11.
[5] Pp. 94, 95.

to the events in Mayo was a massacre of a convoy of Protestants at Shrule after the siege of Castlebar. This unfortunate event occurred on Sunday evening, February 13, 1642. The Irish granted this party a safe conduct to Galway Fort.[1] It was under the protection of Edmund Bourke, and accompanying it was an escort under the personal command of Lord Mayo.[2] At Shrule Bridge Lord Mayo's soldiers ordered the Protestants to cross, and while they were on the bridge commenced to pillage and to kill them. Lord Mayo, it is stated, watched the carnage from an adjoining hill. His son, Sir Theobald Burke, attempted subsequently to absolve his father from all responsibility on the ground that his father had left an hour before the murders were committed.[3] Independent testimony regarding the Shrule affair is found in the "Memoirs," where we gather that Clanricarde received a letter on February 20 from the Bishop of Killala, who had escaped. Clanricarde on February 21 congratulated the Bishop on his "happy escape out of that bloody, inhuman massacre."[4]

T. C. Croker gathers "Narratives of the Contests in Ireland in 1641 and 1690."[5] Sir J. T. Gilbert amasses much contemporary evidence in his "Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction; or, A

[1] Mayo Depositions, F. 3, II., No. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, F. 3, II., No. 5. [3] *Ibid.*, F. 3, II., No. 25.
[4] "Memoirs," pp. 73, 74. *Cf.* p. 290.
[5] It contains M. Cuffe's "Siege of Ballyally Castle in the County of Clare, 1641," and the "Macariae Excidium" (Camden Soc. London, 1841).

Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652 "[1] and in his "History of the Irish Confederation."[2] The substance of the latter is a narrative by Richard Bellings, who was secretary of the Supreme Council, and therefore had every opportunity of ascertaining the facts. The editor gathers the scattered material which Bellings produced, and adds to it many documents from different sources, especially from the Carte MSS. These letters, diaries, and State papers are of the last importance. Well worth perusal are the "Historical Works"[3] of N. French, Bishop of Ferns; the "Alithinologia, sive Veridica Responsio"[4] and "Cambrensis Eversus"[5] of J. Lynch; and E. Hogan's edition of "The Irish War of 1641,"[6] which was written by an officer of Clotworthy's Regiment. G. Aiazzi describes the "Nuntiatura in Irlanda di Monsignor Gio. Batista Rinuccini, Arcivescovo di Fermo, negli anni 1645 a 1649."[7] There are forty-seven pages of documents. The Rebellion to Rinuccini was "one purely for the sake of religion."[8] His main object was to secure the public celebration of the Roman Catholic faith by the aid of papal gold. The aim of the Pope and his Nuncio was "to purge the kingdom of heresy,"[9] "the extermination of heresy."[10] When he pronounces an interdict on the kingdom

[1] 6 parts. Dublin, 1878–80.
[2] 7 vols. Dublin, 1882–91.
[3] 2 vols. Dublin, 1846.
[4] 2 parts. St. Omer (?), 1664–47.
[5] 3 vols. Dublin, 1848–52.
[6] Dublin, 1873.
[7] Firenze, 1844. Trans. A. Hutton, Dublin, 1873.
[8] P. lxi.
[9] P. 201.
[10] P. 203.

he finds seven Bishops, with the Carmelites and Jesuits, opposed to him. His embassy was a failure, for he alienated every man of eminence, even of the Old Irish party. Owen Roe O'Neill stands out in his pages, though Rinuccini admits that after the Battle of Benburb the slaughter lasted two days.

Among the modern works are J. McDonnell's "Light of History respecting the Massacres in Ireland (1580–1641)"[1] and his "Ulster Civil War of 1641";[2] C. P. Meehan's poor "Confederation of Kilkenny";[3] W. C. Taylor's "Civil Wars in Ireland";[4] J. F. Taylor's "Owen Roe O'Neill";[5] F. Warner's "History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland (1641–60)";[6] and D. Coffey's "O'Neill and Ormond."[7]

The Commonwealth.

The "Memoirs"[8] (1625–72) of E. Ludlow and the "Collection of State Papers"[9] (1638–60) of J. Thurloe occupy a high place. J. P. Prendergast wrote a remarkable volume on "The Cromwellian Settlement."[10] Gardiner, however, shows that Prendergast was more intent on describing the woes of the Irish than in trying to give a complete view of the Government of the Commonwealth. This author's references are not impeccable. Father D. Murphy wrote "Cromwell in Ireland,"[11]

[1] Dublin, 1886. [2] *Ibid.*, 1879. [3] *Ibid.*, 1846.
[4] London, 1830. 2 vols. [5] Dublin, 1896.
[6] London, 1767. [7] Dublin, 1914. [8] Oxford, 1894.
[9] London, 1742. [10] London, 1870. [11] Dublin, 1883

August, 1649–May, 1650. He uses Cromwell's letters, the newspapers of the time, the narratives of eyewitnesses, and extracts from contemporary writers: there is an appendix with 65 pages of documents.

The Restoration.

There are the State papers; the "State Letters"[1] (1660–68) of the first Earl of Orrery; and "The Rawdon Papers"[2] (1634–94). The period immediately after 1660 is very important indeed, needing a legal mind to grasp the mazes of the King's Declaration of November 30, 1660; the Act of Settlement of September 27, 1662; and the Act of Explanation. Prendergast once planned a history of the Restoration settlement, and gave up the task in despair. His "Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution"[3] is unworthy of him. The subject made no appeal to Carte. Froude, Lecky, and Bagwell avoided it. "Studies in Irish History, 1649–1775,"[4] furnishes little assistance, though Mr. P. Wilson writes well on the reign of Charles II., and has paid attention to the pamphlets of the time. The working of the Penal Laws receives notice in R. R. Madden's "History of the Penal Laws."[5] In G. Crolly's "Life and Death of Oliver Plunket, Primate of Ireland,"[6] and in Cardinal P. F. Moran's "Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunket"[7] there is much

[1] Dublin, 1743. [2] London, 1819. [3] *Ibid.*, 1887.
[4] Ed. R. B. O'Brien. Dublin, 1903. [5] London, 1847.
[6] Dublin, 1850. [7] *Ibid.*, 1861.

matter on this subject. At Rome there has been privately printed "Beatificationis seu Declarationis Martyrii Servorum Dei Dermith O'Hurley, Archiepiscopi Casseliensis, Cornelii O'Devany, O.S.F., Episcopi Dunensis et Connorensis et Sociorum pro Fide, uti fertur, in Hibernia interfectorum."[1] It contains a mass of documents in its 1,500 pages, beginning with the year 1509 and going down to 1714. It is obvious that the main reason why the Roman Catholic was not permitted to possess land was because he owed allegiance to the Pope, who was then a temporal sovereign. Land lay behind the whole matter. On the agrarian problem there is a fine edition of the works of Sir W. Petty by C. H. Hull.[2] With Petty ought to be read W. H. Hardinge's able essay "On Manuscript, Mapped, and other Townland Surveys in Ireland."[3] There are two careful biographies of Petty by Lord Fitzmaurice[4] and by W. L. Bevan.[5] Lord Fitzmaurice employs Petty's papers at Bowood, the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, and the Egerton and other MSS. in the British Museum.

The Revolution of 1688.

Among the older material are the "State Letters"[6] of the Earl of Clarendon. They cover the years 1687–90, and with them there is an interesting diary. W. Harris's "History of the Life and Reign of William III."[7] still deserves

[1] Rome, 1914. [2] Cambridge, 1899. 2 vols.
[3] Dublin, 1864–65. [4] London, 1895. [5] New York, 1894.
[6] London, 1828. [7] Dublin, 1749.

notice, largely on account of the documents it contains. Dean G. Story wrote "A True and Impartial History of the . . . Wars of Ireland,"[1] and he also wrote "A Continuation of the Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland."[2] Among the modern works R. Cane discussed the "Williamite and Jacobite Wars in Ireland,"[3] leaving it in unfinished condition. J. Todhunter compiled a "Life of Patrick Sarsfield."[4] The Rev T. Witherow wrote a very useful account of "Derry and Enniskillen in 1689"[5]: in spite of its unpretentiousness it is a valuable work. Lord Wolseley wrote with the eye of a soldier and the heart of a Protestant what promised to be the standard "John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough,"[6] and in it he describes the exploits of his hero in Ireland. Clifford Walton's "British Standing Army, 1660–1700"[7] is a mine of information. It is a book which is little known, and ought to be in the hands of all who seek to understand the tactics and the strategy of the Jacobite Wars. Even the first volume of the Hon. W. J. Fortescue[8] does not wholly supersede it. Mr. D. C. Boulger has written a valuable narrative of "The Battle of the Boyne."[9] There is much to be learnt respecting the plans of Louis XIV. from such works as Miss M. F. Sandars' "Lauzun, Courtier and Adventurer; The Life of

[1] London, 1691. [2] *Ibid.*, 1693. [3] Dublin (n. d.).
[4] London, 1895. [5] Belfast, 1885. [6] London, 1894.
[7] London, 1894. Charles Dalton's "English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661–1714," and "Irish Army Lists, 1661–85," should also be consulted.
[8] London, 1899. [9] *Ibid.*, 1911.

a Friend of Louis XIV.";[1] C. F. M. Rousset's "Histoire de Louvois et de son administration"[2]; and M. Immich's "Pabst Innocenz XI."[3]

Social and Economic Life.

There is much to be gleaned on social life from the Tours and Travels discussed earlier.[4] Of late the economic life has received a fair amount of notice. Miss Murray (Mrs. Radice) wrote an important study of the "Commercial Relations between England and Ireland,"[5] which is based on first-hand evidence throughout. Of course J. H. Hutchinson's "Commercial Restraints of Ireland Considered"[6] is still noteworthy. Mr. W. R. Scott in his great work, "Joint Stock Companies to 1720,"[7] discusses Irish companies, especially in his second volume. Mr. G. O'Brien has studied "The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century"[8] to good purpose. Mr. J. J. Webb has investigated "Industrial Dublin since 1698, and the Silk Industry in Dublin"[9] and "Municipal Government in Ireland."[10] Unfortunately in both books he refuses to furnish references, and leaves them unindexed.

[1] London, 1908. [2] Paris, 1862. [3] Berlin, 1900.
[4] *Cf.* my "Social Life in Ireland after the Restoration," *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1913.
[5] London, 1903. [6] Dublin, 1888. [7] Cambridge, 1910–12.
[8] London, 1919. [9] *Ibid.*, 1913. [10] Dublin, 1918.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

HELPS FOR STUDENTS OF HISTORY. No. 35

EDITED BY C. JOHNSON, M.A., H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, M.A., AND J. P. WHITNEY, D.D., D.C.L.

IRELAND, 1714-1829

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LONDON:
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1920

PREFACE

THERE are exhaustive bibliographies in vol. vi. of the "Cambridge Modern History" by Mr. R. Dunlop, pp. 913–924; in vol. ix. by Mr. G. P. Gooch, pp. 881–882; and in vol. x. by Mr. H. W. C. Davis, pp. 860–866. I omit matters which I discuss in my "Public Record Office, Dublin" and my "Some Manuscripts preserved in Trinity College, Dublin."

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IRELAND, 1714–1829

The leading features of the Ireland of the eighteenth century are the increase in the power of Parliament, the Act of Union, the removal of the Penal Laws, the Rebellion of 1798, the French Invasions, and the passing of Foster's Corn Law.

The Irish Parliament, 1714–1800.

The demand for seats became strong after 1688, with the result that wider definitions were given to the term "freeholder." Ten years later clerks in Holy Orders, schoolmasters, and town clerks were regarded as *ipso facto* freeholders. The idea was extended, and after 1715 trustees and mortgagees exercised the right to vote at county elections. The 1 Geo. II., c. 29, applied the provision as to six months' possession in the Act of 1715 to trustees and mortgagees, thus rendering the custom legal. For the first time in England or Ireland this Act established distinctions between freeholders, for by it no freeholder whose freehold was under the value of £10 was to vote, unless a memorial of the deed by which his freehold was granted was entered six months before the date of election with

the clerk of the peace. This clause, however, lent itself to corrupt practices. The 19 Geo. II., c. 11, endeavoured to check these practices and the evasion which was common. This measure gave publicity and required the freeholder to take an oath in open court as to the possession of his freehold and its value. Parliament was resolved to prevent the creation of freeholders, and, by the 21 Geo. II., c. 10, the practice of making freeholds when an election was pending was stopped. This Bill legalised non-resident members of borough corporations. This worked in the opposite direction, for it did not diminish the number of the voters. This clause was accidental in the Act of 1747. It was due to a quarrel between rival borough masters consequent on the sale of Newtownards.[1] One of these masters was Alexander Castlereagh, whose grandson carried the Union. He protested against it, as it meant that the non-residents would dominate the residents. This was the complaint of Kilmallock in 1783[2] and of Newtownards in 1784.[3] The latter town then complained that though there were five hundred houses in the borough, yet the free burgesses by whom the parliamentary elections were made were, with one exception, non-resident. It was indeed a fatal clause.

As in Bristol and Maldon, marriage with a freeman's daughter involved before 1747 admission

[1] Hist. MSS. Comm., 12th Rep., App., pt. x., 111.
[2] H. of C. Journals, xi. 46. [3] *Ibid.*, xi. 200.

to the freedom of the borough. Usages like these quietly disappeared through the manipulation of the borough patrons and their managers on the corporations.[1]

Since 1704 Nonconformists had been excluded from the House of Commons, and there were movements for their relief in 1719[2] and 1733 which encountered the determined opposition of Primate Boulter.[3] By 1778 the Volunteers had come into being. The revolt of the American colonies was due in part to exiled Presbyterians, and it undoubtedly strengthened the public feeling which supported Sir Edward Newenham, and, by the 19 and 20 Geo. III., c. 6, the sacramental test was removed.[4] Lord North opposed it because he was afraid that if this Bill passed in Dublin it would stimulate the movement for the repeal of the Test Act in England.[5] Practically, the Presbyterians profited but little. The favour of the patron was still far more important than any legislative enactment of Parliament. "It is reasonable," thinks Mr. Porritt, "to conclude that the Dissenters in the boroughs gained little more from the Act wrung from the English and Irish administrations in 1780 than the Catholics in the boroughs did from the Act of 1793; and the exclusion of Dissenters from the municipal corporations extended, in prac-

[1] Irish Municipal Commission, 1835, 1st Rep., App., pt. i., 761, 762.
[2] H. of C. Journals, iii. 233.
[3] "Boulter Letters," ii. 109–114.
[4] H. of C. Journals, x. 11. [5] Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 337.

tice, if not by law, from the reign of Queen Anne until the Union."[1]

It is manifest that in the reign of George II. the sale of seats was well known. According to Sir J. T. Gilbert, "the House of Commons of Ireland acquired new importance so rapidly, from the transactions of 1753 [*i.e.*, the struggle over the Money Bill of that year], that a borough sold in the succeeding year for three times the price paid for it in 1750."[2] With annoying vagueness, Gilbert does not tell us what the price was in 1750. It is useful to remember that the lifetime of a Parliament ceased only by the death of the King. In 1760 Adderley offered Lord Charlemont £600 to £800 for a seat.[3] Curiously enough, in 1793 Grattan made the same estimate for this year.[4] One result of the Octennial Act, 1768, was a serious increase in the amount paid for a seat.[5] In 1774 Lord North was told by a Dublin Castle official that a seat cost at least 2,000 guineas. This is certainly an exaggeration, for in 1783 they were sold for £2,000 apiece.[6] This may be regarded as the normal price for the next seventeen years.

In 1785 a Bill for the prevention of the sale of seats was introduced. It was opposed by a reformer, William Brownlow. He contended that the existing system enabled the most advanced men,

[1] "The Unreformed House of Commons," ii. 347.
[2] "History of the City of Dublin," iii. 101.
[3] Hist. MSS. Comm., 12th Rep., App., pt. x., 12.
[4] *Parl. Reg.*, xiii. 34. [5] Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 254.
[6] H. of C. Journals, xi. 46.

those of independent spirit, unconnected and uninfluenced by persons by whom they were nominally returned, to find their way into the House. If patrons were forbidden to sell they would return their own creatures, or they would give the nomination to the ministers, and the public would pay the price of the seat to the person who misrepresented them.[1] In practice, however, the fifty or sixty members[2] returned in this fashion did not entertain the aims Brownlow attributed to them. On the eve of the Union Beresford wrote: "As to the boroughs, many of the proprietors are very poor, and have lived by the sale of them. Upon the late General Election boroughs did not sell readily, and several of the proprietors were obliged to come in themselves. They cannot be expected to give up their interest for nothing; and those who bought their seats cannot be expected to give up their term for nothing."[3]

James I. once referred to the strange kind of beast, the undertaker, who had appeared in order to assist him in managing an unruly Parliament. This "beast" disappeared in England, but he appeared in Ireland[4] till Lord Townshend, the Lord Lieutenant, broke his influence. In 1767 he saw that the undertakers derived their strength from the Crown, which was not the gainer by the change. The gainer was to some extent the

[1] *Cf. Parl. Reg.*, iv. 58, 59.
[2] Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 277; Castlereagh Correspondence, ii. 151.
[3] Beresford Correspondence, ii. 210.
[4] Pellew, "Life of Lord Sidmouth," ii. 208.

Lord Lieutenant, now continuously resident, and the Chief Secretary, but the county families still contrived to hold much influence. "Every man I see," noted Buckinghamshire, the Lord Lieutenant in 1779, "solicits peerage, privy council, or pension."[1] In the end such men overreached themselves. For Cornwallis, the Viceroy in 1798, there was no more forcible argument for the Union "than the overgrown Parliamentary power of five or six of our pampered boroughmongers, who are become most formidable to Government by their long possession of the entire patronage of the Crown in their respective districts."[2] Nor did this state of affairs end in 1800. The only difference is that before this date Irishmen were the sole competitors in the sale of seats, whereas now Englishmen and Scotchmen joined in the competition. In the Imperial Parliament of 1807–12 Athlone, Bandon, Carlow, Cashel, Dundalk, Dungannon, Enniskillen, Kilkenny, Kinsale, Portarlington, New Ross, Tralee, and Wexford were represented by Englishmen or Scotchmen, "few of whom ever saw Ireland, and who cannot be supposed to have a greater knowledge of its real situation than they have of Thibet or Abyssinia."[3]

The enfranchisement of the Roman Catholics in 1793 added to this corruption. Some of the hostility to this measure was discounted when the landlords saw that they could "make the ignorant

[1] Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 196.
[2] Cornwallis Correspondence, iii. 110.
[3] Wakefield, "Ireland; Statistical and Political," ii. 314.

masses subservient to their ambition."[1] That acute observer, Lord Cloncurry, noted that "a new trade sprang up in the country. Men speculated in the multiplication of forty-shilling freeholders, as they ought to have done in the breeding of sheep."[2] The day was to come in 1826 when the landlords were deposed in favour of Daniel O'Connell and the priests. Elections before 1800 were infrequent, and Parliament met only in alternate years. This plan held good from 1703 to 1787.[3]

Between the Speaker at Westminster and the Government of the day there came to be no partisan relationships, but in Dublin the exact reverse was the case. The Irish Speaker was commonly a nominee of the Court. In the early part of the eighteenth century the Viceroy was not resident, though he was in the closing decades. Down to 1767 there was an intimate connection between the Speaker and the undertakers. This comes out clearly in the important correspondence between Primate Boulter and the Duke of Dorset, who was Lord-Lieutenant from 1730 to 1737.[4] Boyle was Speaker in 1733: he was so influential that Walpole described him as the King of the House of Commons. He was also Chancellor of the Exchequer and a Commissioner of Revenue.[5] From 1765 to 1800 the salary

[1] Whiteside, "Life and Death of the Irish Parl.," 182.
[2] "Personal Recollections," 35.
[3] Mountmorres, i. 418; Froude, i. 325.
[4] Philipps, "Boulter Letters," ii. 95, 97.
[5] "Life of Henry Boyle," 37.

of the Speaker amounted to £5,000 a session.[1] After 1767 he ceased to hold offices under the Crown. In spite of this, he remained as partisan as the Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington. There were now and then differences between the Speaker and the Government, but usually these were susceptible of adjustment.

Speaker Pery opposed Buckinghamshire, the Viceroy, in 1778 and 1779 on the question of free trade, which then meant freedom to trade with the British colonies, not free trade in our sense.[2] Pery pressed Lord North to relieve the disabilities of the Dissenters in 1779[3] and he supported the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1778. In 1786 Speaker Foster succeeded Pery, and the mantle of opposition of the latter fell upon him. Unlike Pery, he opposed the enfranchisement of the Roman Catholics,[4] and he offered the very stoutest opposition to the Union.[5] It is worthy of notice that the orders of the House of Commons were those of the English House adapted or adopted. For example, Sir Henry Cavendish in 1793 was anxious to check irregularities of debate which the existing orders did not prevent. He assured his fellow-members that his plan "was not a child of his own fancy, but was an order adopted by the British House of Commons."[6]

[1] H. of C. Journals, xix. 279; Macartney, "Account of Ireland in 1773," 36.
[2] Addit. MSS. 34523, ff. 246, 258, 259, 267.
[3] Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep., App., 207. [4] *Parl. Reg.*, xiii. 332. Castlereagh Correspondence, ii. 136; iii. 57.
[5] *Parl. Reg.*, xiii. 252.

Election petitions were every whit as partisan in Dublin as they were in Westminster. Sir Lucius O'Brien and Dr. Lucas determined to follow the provisions of the memorable Grenville Act of 1770. Their measure of 1771 was closely modelled on the Grenville Act, and was one of the most important Bills passed in the whole eighteenth century. At first it was to continue in force only for seven years, but in 1774 it was made perpetual,[1] which meant it lasted to 1800. One drawback to the measure was that the lodging of an election petition meant that the member whose return was questioned sent a challenge to a duel to the lodger of the petition.

In the reign of Queen Anne pensioners were excluded from the House of Commons, and the number of office-holders was restricted. We have to wait till the year 1793 for similar legislation in Dublin. When Townshend destroyed the undertakers in 1767 he *ipso facto* rendered the office-holder the bulwark of the administration. Parliament increasingly felt this, and waged a fierce warfare against the office-holder and the pensioner. In 1768 the Octennial Bill limited the duration of Parliament. In 1782 Poynings' Law was at last repealed, and the Privy Council saw much of its legislative functions disappear. In 1787 Parliament began to meet every year instead of alternate years. As agitation succeeded, fresh measures were presented, and the House of Commons felt

[1] H. of C. Journals, ix. 143.

the influence of the American Revolution. There had been a Place and Pension Bill in 1756, and there had been agitation from 1785 onwards.[1] In 1790 Forbes estimated that there were 104 office-holders and pensioners in the House of Commons. To the amazement of the House, Major Hobart, the Chief Secretary, approved the principle of Forbes' measure, and in 1793 the 33 Geo. III., c. 41, passed. This measure also permitted the introduction of the Irish equivalent of the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds. The desirability of such a method of releasing members is obvious from the fact that there was no General Election from the accession of George II. to that of George III. The escheatorships of the four Provinces served the same purpose as the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds.

The office-holders had served the Government faithfully, but before the year 1782 Poynings' Law was not less effective. Under it the Privy Council exercised its power in transmitting or altering the heads of measures sent to it by Parliament. Primate Boulter lays stress on this all-important function in his correspondence with Newcastle.[2] As it was desirable to put office-holders in the House of Commons, it was no less desirable to secure that among the Privy Councillors there should be a majority on the side of the Government. Once this position had been reached, Boulter is unwilling to add to the Privy Council.

[1] H. of C. Journals, xi. 437.
[2] Phillips, "Boulter Letters," ii. 148, 307–8.

The effect of this on the Members of Parliament was clear to that intelligent observer, Arthur Young, who said: "I heard many very eloquent speeches, but I cannot say they struck me like the exertion of the abilities of Irishmen in the English House of Commons, owing perhaps to the reflection, both on the speaker and on the auditor, that the Attorney-General of England with a dash of his pen can revise, alter, or entirely do away with the matured results of all the eloquence and all the abilities of this whole assembly."[1] Primate Boulter was well aware that "in the method of our Parliament, no Bill can be carried by surprise because, though the heads of a Bill may be carried on a sudden, yet there is time for a party to be gathered against it by the time a Bill can pass the Council here [*i.e.*, in Dublin] and be returned from England, when it is again to pass through both Houses for their approbation before it can pass into law."[2]

How little power the House of Commons possessed is clear from the working of Poynings' Law, and is no less clear from the circumstance that it was only through the Privy Council it could address the throne. Members might—and did—resent their powerlessness, but up to the time of the American Revolution there was no public opinion behind them, save in the days of Swift's tempestuous agitation against Wood's halfpence in 1724 and in that of 1757 against Poyning's Law. From then to 1782 the House of Commons steadily asserted itself.

[1] "Tour in Ireland," i. 20. [2] Phillips, "Boulter Letters," ii. 111.

There had been some public feeling behind the contest on a Money Bill in 1753,[1] and the people began to demonstrate against the place-holders who supported the policy of Primate Stone. This popular interest precedes by ten years the outburst on behalf of Wilkes. Samuel Lucas, the Wilkes of Dublin, was prominent in securing the passing of a standing order in 1764, which declares that "no Bill shall pass in this House until a committee of this House shall compare the transmiss with the original heads of the Bill, and report if any and what alterations have been made therein to the House."[2] In 1776 Flood headed the opposition to Poynings' Law, but he succumbed to official influence.

The agitation continued for sixteen years more and then triumphed. Mr. Porritt skilfully summarises the aims of the leaders of the Opposition in saying that they "were agitating for a Septennial Act; for annual sessions of Parliament; for a mitigation of the penal code; for an Act making the judges irremovable; for an overhauling of the pension list; for a mutiny Act; for parliamentary reform; and for the freedom of Irish trade from the restraining laws imposed in the interests of England which had grievously hampered Ireland all through the eighteenth century."[3] In spite of the work of men like Lucas, it is obvious that there was

[1] Gilbert, "History of Dublin," iii. 101.
[2] H. of C. Journals, vii. 260.
[3] "The Unreformed House of Commons," ii. 441.

a decided lack of the spirit which makes for constitutionalism. For example, it was necessary in 1775 to pass a law for the prevention of rioting and the mutilation of poll-books. Mr. Porritt is justified in pointing out that there is no English statute for the prevention of riots deliberately organised to give sheriffs the pretext for closing polls, or to authorise judges to send into transportation men convicted of mutilating or secreting poll-books.[1]

Dr. W. Hunt edited "The Irish Parliament, 1775,"[2] which records the arts of parliamentary management as practised by a member of the administration whose ostensible object was the reform of abuses in the parliamentary system. The book, however, adds little to the facts presented in the two volumes of the Harcourt Papers. It is improbable that the editor is right in his conjecture that the author of the list is Sir John Blaquiere. There are thirty-seven volumes, giving an account of the debates of the House of Commons, 1776–89, in the Library of Congress, Washington. In the Second Report of the Historical MSS. Commission[3] Lord Fitzmaurice describes them as a collection of "thirty-seven manuscript volumes, quarto, of the debates held in the Irish House of Commons, between 1776 and 1789, with the corresponding shorthand notes contained in oblong notebooks interleaved with blotting paper. . . . The notes are believed to have been confidentially made

[1] "The Unreformed House of Commons," i. 215.
[2] London, 1907. [3] Hist. MSS. Comm., App., 99, 102 (1871).

by a shorthand writer under the direction of the Government. . . . The collection was preserved until 1817 at the Stamp Office, King William Street, Dublin, when it was sold as lumber. . . . In 1842 these manuscript volumes were advertised in a catalogue by Messrs. Grant and Bolton, booksellers, Grafton Street, Dublin, and purchased by Mr. Torrens. . . . Mr. Torrens before now expressed his willingness to place the collection at the disposal of the governors of Trinity College, Dublin, or of the British Museum. No notice has, however, been taken of this offer with a view to publication."

The reports are genuine, and the work of a man who actually heard the speeches delivered. Lord Fitzmaurice prints a speech of Grattan from the "Parliamentary Register" and from these volumes,[1] of date October 28, 1789, and it is quite evident that a comparison of the two leaves no doubt that the manuscript account is more faithful than the printed one. The reporter does not give us the speeches verbatim, and he was present about half the time the House met. There are no reports for the years 1786, 1787, and 1788. He furnishes reports always when there was an important debate. Each of his volumes contains about 300 pages, with about 200 words to the page.

The thirty-seven volumes enable us better to understand the share taken by Grattan in the repeal of Poynings' Law in 1782. Lord North

[1] Hist. MSS. Comm., App., 100.

was greatly upset by this, for, as he informed Buckinghamshire in 1780, " all these questions, if not quashed in Ireland, have a direct tendency to bring on all those evils which we have been labouring to avoid."[1] The student of the growth of public opinion will be interested in seeing how effectively the Irish leaders engineered the agitation. Grattan's speeches,[2] powerful as they are, received weight when it was realised that 40,000 armed Volunteers lay behind them. We are fortunate in having such published works as Lecky's great " History " and his " Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland,"[3] Froude's, Ball's,[4] Litton Falkiner's,[5] Dunlop's,[6] Sullivan's,[7] and the able book of J. R. Fisher,[8] as they all help us to understand how the Irish orator was able to propose a resolution, declaring in 1780 " that no person on earth save the King, Lords, and Commons has a right to make laws for Ireland." With prescience Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, objected that a revival of Irish nationality meant a nationality not only of the Irish Protestants but of the Roman Catholic Celts. It meant the undoing of the work of Elizabeth, James, and Cromwell.

The Volunteers met at Dungannon, and were animated to fresh agitation by the addresses of

1 Addit. MSS. 34523, ff. 336, 339.
2 " Speeches." London, 1822, 4 vols. 3 London, 1903, 2 vols.
4 " Irish Legislative Systems." London, 1889.
5 " Studies in Irish History." London, 1902.
6 " Life of H. Grattan." London, 1889.
7 In " Two Centuries of Irish History." London, 1888.
8 " The End of the Irish Parliament." London, 1911.

Grattan, Flood, and Charlemont. The new Viceroy, the Earl of Carlisle, changed front, a change in part due to the effects of the disastrous fall of Yorktown. The repeal of Poynings' Act became legal on July 27, 1782. A thanksgiving day was appointed to celebrate "the union, harmony, and cordial affection which has lately been brought about between those two kingdoms, whose interests are inseparably the same, by the wisdom and justice of his Majesty and his Council in confirming and re-establishing their mutual rights."[1]

The legislation of 1782 stands out as the first to be due to the combined pressure of the Parliament, the people, and the Press. George III. told Pitt that he had taught him to look elsewhere than in the House of Commons for an understanding of the feelings of the nation. The lesson was reinforced by the example of Ireland. There was a wave of public feeling in London which took the form of the Gordon Riots, but the first emphatic case was the unparalleled agitation for the Reform Bill of 1832, and Ireland preceded that by at least fifty years.

After 1782 the House of Lords acquired more importance than it had possessed before. In 1751 there were only twenty-eight peers, and the Bishops formed a majority in the House.[2] In Boulter's letters it is abundantly evident that some of the peers were quite needy people.[3] With the excep-

[1] H. of C. Journals, x. 354. [2] Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 180.
[3] Phillips, "Boulter Letters," ii. 84–87, 123–125, 131.

tion of divorce Bills, there were not half a dozen other measures which originated in the session in the Upper House.[1] The reign of George III. witnessed a vast accession to the peerage, and not a few English borough owners and Members of Parliament were raised to Irish peerages. The Irish peers began to be reckoned a force in Westminster, not in Dublin. Lord Buckinghamshire points out that from 1751 to 1779 no less than thirty-nine peers were created—that is, there was an increase of practically 150 per cent.[2] There were 28 peers in 1751 and there were 207 in 1800, a lavishness unprecedented.[3] Even after 1782 the attacks on the Government uniformly proceeded from the Lower, and not from the Upper, House. The peers resembled the members of the Paris Parlement, for they fought more vigorously over ceremonial than over anything else.

The strangers' gallery was largely unoccupied till 1753,[4] but from that date to 1782 there was a large attendance. James Caldwell, the first Irish parliamentary reporter, attended the session of 1763–64.[5] It is curious to find that men like Flood and Curran appealed as regularly to members of the gallery as to members of the House.[6] The front row of seats was usually reserved for ladies. From

1 Macartney, "Account of Ireland in 1773," 65.
2 Addit. MSS. 34523, f. 180.
3 Wakefield, "Ireland, Statistical and Political," ii. 286.
4 "Life of Henry Boyle," 144.
5 Gilbert, "History of Dublin," iii. 107; Whiteside, 116.
6 *Parl. Reg.*, xi. 155.

1783 to 1800 the "Parliamentary Register" furnishes a report of speeches which is as valuable as the early Hansards.

The 1782 Parliament.

Professor Dicey, in his "Law of the Constitution," draws attention to the difference between a parliamentary executive and a non-parliamentary executive. In the former the Legislature appoints and dismisses the Executive, which is usually taken from among the members of the executive body. In the latter the Executive does not receive appointment from the Legislature. The Constitutions of the United States, of France in the time of the Second Republic, of the German Empire, and of Ireland from 1782 to 1800, afford examples of non-parliamentary Executives. Most modern Constitutions—*e.g.*, the British—belong to the parliamentary Executive. It was as difficult for the Irish Parliament after 1782 as before it to exercise control over the Executive, for it neither appointed it nor dismissed it. The English Ministry still appointed the Executive, and it is hard therefore to perceive in practice how "independence" really existed. The one matter certain is that the Constitution possessed, from this standpoint, no element of permanence. Professor Dicey does not go a whit too far when he states that the combination of a sovereign Parliament with a non-parliamentary Executive made it all but certain that Grattan's Constitution must either be greatly modified or come

to an end. This is an aspect of this Constitution which has not received that attention it deserves. The causes leading up to the Union are so dramatic that the change effected by Grattan has never been adequately investigated. It is sufficient to state that in 1783, out of 117 Irish boroughs, only 11 were uncontrolled by their owners in order to see how little influence the voter, even the Protestant voter, possessed.

The Union.

The failure to carry the Commercial Propositions, the prosperity of Scotland since 1707, the danger of clashing with the British Parliament—*e.g.*, in the Regency question—and the desire to improve the condition of the Roman Catholics, promoted the policy of the Union. In view of later history it is remarkable to find that the Roman Catholic Bishops were unanimously in favour of the Union, while two Bishops of the Church of Ireland —Dickson of Down and Marlay of Waterford—opposed it. It would not be too much to say that the supporters of the Union are now its bitterest antagonists, whereas the opponents are now the warmest supporters. The valuable Castlereagh Correspondence reveals the fact that Roman Catholic prelates, such as Troy, the Archbishop of Dublin, Moylan of Cork, the Archbishop of Cashel, and Bishop Caulfield, exerted themselves in favour of the 1800 measure, "discreetly" employing their influence with their flocks for

the same purpose.[1] In his "Confederation of Europe"[2] Professor Alison Phillips has revealed the share taken by Castlereagh in the settlement of Europe; but at present there is no adequate account of his share in the settlement of Ireland. His schemes of representation stand in need of examination. That curious collection of "Documents relating to Ireland, 1795–1804,"[3] which Sir J. T. Gilbert edited, affords no help. Indeed, the only valuable matter in it is the extracts from the Pelham Correspondence preserved in the British Museum. For the negotiations leading up to the Union there are 231 volumes in the Record Office, London, covering the period from 1782 to 1829: these letters are of high importance. There are also the Castlereagh Correspondence,[4] the Cornwallis Correspondence,[5] the Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13th Report, App., pts. vii. and viii., C. J. Fox's "Memorials and Correspondence,"[6] the Beresford Correspondence,[7] and such works as H. Grattan's "Memoirs of the Life and Times of Henry Grattan"[8] contain material of exceptional worth. Throughout the whole course of the proceedings we possess the invaluable help of Lecky. C. Coote's "History of the Union

[1] Castlereagh Correspondence, ii. 344–348, 352, 370–371, 386–387.
[2] London, 1914.
[3] Dublin, 1893.
[4] "Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh." London, 1848–53, 12 vols.
[5] Ed. C. Ross. London, 1859, 3 vols.
[6] Ed. Lord J. Russell. London, 1853, 4 vols.
[7] Edited by his grandson. 1854, 2 vols.
[8] London, 1839–46, 5 vols.

of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland "[1] is an old-fashioned work deserving consultation. T. D. Ingram[2] gathers much information, though he vainly tries to show that the Union was not carried by corruption. It ought to be added that Pitt's speeches and the debates thereon are of great importance. A pressing need is a book on the Union of the type of the work of A. V. Dicey and R. S. Rait in their "Thoughts on the Scottish Union."[3]

Roman Catholic Emancipation.

The masses of material almost overwhelm the student. From 1745 to 1799 the two volumes of the Charlemont MSS. in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, 12th Report, App., pt. x., and the 13th Report, App., pt. viii., and the Rutland Papers in the 14th Report, App., pt. i., give illuminating points of view: the Rutland Papers concern the end of the eighteenth century. There are the works of Burke,[4] M. Arnold's handy volume of "Edmund Burke on Irish Affairs,"[5] the "Correspondence between Pitt and the Duke of Rutland" (1781–87),[6] the Beresford Correspondence, H. Grattan's "Memoirs," the "Proceedings of the Catholic Association from May 13, 1823, to February 11, 1825,"[7] and, from another point of view, R. B. O'Brien's edition of "The Auto-

[1] 1802.
[2] "History of the Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland." London, 1887.
[3] London, 1920.
[4] London, 1886, 6 vols.
[5] London, 1881.
[6] London, 1890.
[7] London, 1825.

biography of Theobald Wolfe Tone."[1] Along with these contemporary documents the following published works deserve consultation: W. J. Amherst, "History of Catholic Emancipation, etc., 1771–1820";[2] Gustave de Beaumont, "Ireland, Social, Political, and Religious";[3] F. Plowden, "Historical Review of the State of Ireland from the Invasion under Henry II. to the Union"[4] and his "History of Ireland from its Union with Great Britain, 1801 to 1810";[5] the Hon. D. Plunket, "Life, Letters, and Speeches of Lord Plunket";[6] R. S. Tighe, "Considerations on the Late and Present State of Ireland";[7] W. J. MacNeven, "Pieces of Irish History illustrative of the Condition of the Catholics of Ireland, of the United Irishmen, etc.";[8] J. Milner, "Supplementary Memoirs of the English Catholics";[9] C. S. Parker, "Sir Robert Peel from his Private Papers";[10] R. R. Pearce, "Memoirs and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley";[11] Sir R. Peel, "Memoirs published by Earl Stanhope and E. Cardwell";[12] Dean Pellew, "Life and Correspondence of the First Viscount Sidmouth";[13] W. W. Seward, "Collectanea Politica";[14] the Duke of Wellington, "Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda";[15] and T. Wyse,

[1] London, 1893, 2 vols.
[2] London, 1886, 2 vols.
[3] London, 1839, 2 vols.
[4] London, 1803, 2 vols in 3.
[5] Dublin, 1811, 3 vols.
[6] London, 1867, 2 vols.
[7] Dublin, 1804.
[8] New York, 1807.
[9] London, 1820.
[10] London, 1891–99, 3 vols.
[11] London, 1846, 3 vols.
[12] London, 1850, 2 vols.
[13] London, 1847, 3 vols.
[14] Dublin, 1803–04, 3 vols.
[15] London, 1871 *ff.*, vols. iv.-vi.

"Historical Sketch of the Late Catholic Association of Ireland."[1]

Of course, the hero of the agitation is Daniel O'Connell. There are sketches of him in M. F. Cusack, "The Liberator, his Life and Times";[2] W. J. O'N. Daunt, "Personal Recollections of Daniel O'Connell";[3] R. Dunlop, "Daniel O'Connell";[4] W. Fagan, "Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell";[5] W. J. Fitzpatrick, "Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell";[6] J. A. Hamilton, "Life of O'Connell";[7] J. de La Faye, "O'Connell";[8] Lecky, "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland"; G. Nemours, "Daniel O'Connell";[9] J. O'Connell, "Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, M.P.";[10] J. R. O'Flanagan, "Bar Life of O'Connell";[11] J. O. Rourke, "The Life of O'Connell";[12] and G. J. Shaw-Lefevre, "Peel and O'Connell: Irish Policy from the Union to the Death of Peel."[13] Lecky's account is *facile princeps*, and then come the works of Dunlop and Fitzpatrick. Notable as is the labour of the Liberator in securing the franchise for his co-religionists, it is worth while drawing attention to other sides of his activities. Like the law reformers of his day, he was an individualist, more influenced by utilitarian ideas than perhaps he realised. He

[1] London, 1829, 2 vols.
[2] London, 1872.
[3] London, 1848, 2 vols.
[4] London, 1889.
[5] Cork, 1847–48, 2 vols.
[6] London, 1888, 2 vols.
[7] London, 1888.
[8] Paris, 1896.
[9] Paris, 1893.
[10] Dublin, 1846, 2 vols.
[11] London, 1875.
[12] Dublin, 1875.
[13] London, 1887.

advocated universal suffrage, the ballot, and an elective House of Lords. He supported the emancipation of the Jews; the abolition of capital punishment, of the Usury Acts, of flogging in the Army, of taxes on knowledge, of the Game Laws, and of the Corn Laws. This is very remarkable when we remember the nature of the man and of his associates and the age in which he lived.

One of the questions to be solved is, Was the Penal Code directed against the treason of the Roman Catholic or against his faith? It is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that it was the treason which was attacked. The Sovereign felt that England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity. Elizabeth felt this, and so did James I., Charles I., William III., Anne, and the Georges. In 1662 the Nuncio at Brussels, De Vechiis, had declared that a proposed address by the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, stating their loyalty to their new Sovereign, was a violation of the Roman Catholic faith.[1] Cardinal Barberini and Cardinal Rospigliosi concurred in this condemnation.[2] In 1647 Cardinal Pamphili, the Pope's Secretary of State, had written to Rinuccini: "The Holy See never can by any positive act approve of the civil allegiance of Catholic subjects to an heretical prince. . . . It had been the constant and uninterrupted practice of the Holy See never to allow its ministers to make or consent to any public edict

[1] Throckmorton, "Letters to the Catholic Clergy," 154.
[2] "Ad præstantes viros Hiberniæ," Walsh, 17.

of Catholic subjects for the defence of the crown and person of an heretical prince."[1]

The dominant feeling of the seventeenth and a large part of the eighteenth centuries was that the gravest heresy of the Roman Catholic Church was the claim it put forth to hold a political supremacy over all princes and potentates. Its erroneous doctrines, its corrupt practices, were but as dust in the balance compared with its claim to use the deposing power. If the reader scans any pamphlet in defence of royal rights he is sure, before he turns over many leaves, to see a reference to the Pope or his supporter, the great Cardinal Bellarmine. The generation that revolted against the rule of James II. had been trained to look upon the Pope as the head of an alien jurisdiction menacing the real independence of the country. There was, moreover, ample opportunity for men to hear such views. The 30th of January and the 5th of November were to the clergy suitable occasions for inveighing against papal interference in the life of the State.

Lord Acton has pointed out that the Huguenots were persecuted not in the least in the interests of the Roman Catholic religion, but purely and simply in those of the more modern doctrine of State uniformity. This is stating the case too strongly. It is, however, quite a true statement if for the words "purely and simply" we substitute the word "mainly." The Irish penal laws

[1] Carte, "Ormond," i. 578.

are another case in point. Roman Catholics, Archbishop King held, must not be oppressed, but because of their political views they must be kept in subjection. They cannot hold any office, for they might betray their trust to the Pope. Personal liberty they must possess, he maintains in a thesis; political liberty they must not possess. Since they refused to give guarantees of their loyalty, they were properly excluded from the full benefits of citizenship. Out of a list of 1,080 Roman Catholic clergy, only 30 abjured the Pretender. It is significant that when Archbishop King finds in his diocese worthy Roman Catholics, he asks the rector of the parish in which they dwell to see that they are not overburdened. The Protestant squire may hold the property of such in his own name but for their benefit, and he censures severely a landlord who in such a position of trust employed the land for his own purposes.

These tolerant actions were in no wise confined to men like King. Rulers like Lord Sidney tried to put them into force, too. A State paper on the Popish clergy of Ireland, in the year 1697, affords the strongest evidence in this matter.[1] The list enumerates 838 secular clergy and 389 regular; there are three Bishops—one in Cork, one in Galway, and one in Waterford. Of course the existence of these Bishops is winked at, not legally permitted. It is self-evident that if England had persecuted Roman Catholics *qua* Roman Catholics the clearest

[1] Addit. MSS. 17406.

way to end the days of the Church in Ireland was to achieve what Louis XIV. achieved, and that was to allow no Bishops to remain there to exercise their functions. If there was no Bishop there could be no ordination in the country, if there was no ordination there could be no priest other than a mission priest. That the penal laws were not due to merely theological antipathies is the conclusion to which one is forced by a careful study of contemporary evidence. There is evidence converging from all sides that Roman Catholicism was hampered because it was political, and this conclusive evidence comes from sermon and address, tract and pamphlet, newspaper and broadsheet, book and treatise; it above all comes from private correspondence and State paper. These letters were meant for the friend who read them, the papers for the men who ruled the land; they were not meant for the public at large, and we may reasonably infer that they exhibit on the whole the true motives governing the men who penned them.

Original Sources.

In the Record Office, London, there are Letters and Papers, 1714–81, 129 volumes; Correspondence, 1782–1829, 231 volumes; Entry Books, 1776–1829, 6 volumes; Military matters, 1768–1829, 5 volumes; Disturbances, 1803–05, 1 volume; Miscellaneous, 1803–05, 1 volume; Register of Correspondence, 1781–1801, 6 volumes; Secret (Roman

Catholics, Dissenters, Tithes), 1800–04, 1 volume; the Report of the House of Lords Committee, 1798, 2 volumes; Letter Books, 1782–1829, 14 volumes; Irish Letter Books, 1714–1829, 18 volumes; and there is an index to the Letter Books, 1714–1815, 4 volumes. There are also Colonel Blaquiere's Registers, 1772–76, 2 volumes; Dublin Petitions, 1781, 2 volumes; the Secretary's Letter Book, August, 1714–83, 13 volumes; and Warrants, 1714–16, 7 volumes. The Correspondence from 1782 to 1829 includes civil, military, miscellaneous, private and secret, letters and papers, Roman Catholic Emancipation, peerage claims, and reports of outrages.

The British Museum contains the correspondence of Edward Southwell with Dr. Marmaduke Coghill.[1] There are other Southwell letters in the Record Office, Dublin,[2] and in Trinity College, Dublin. In the British Museum there are also the extremely valuable Newcastle Correspondence,[3] which yields information on the period from 1724 to 1767, and the Pelham Correspondence.[4]

The Reigns of George I. and George II.

Mr. Elrington Ball has given us a noble edition of the correspondence of Swift, and it helps to eke out the scanty records of these two reigns.[5] Sir

[1] Addit. MSS. 21122–3.
[2] The 30th Rep. of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records in Ireland, App. i., pp. 44–58. This is a poor report.
[3] Addit. MSS. 32687–32738.
[4] Addit. MSS. 33100–05.
[5] London, 1910–14, 6 vols.

Walter Scott edited his works,[1] and the Drapier Letters and the Historical and Political Tracts bearing on Ireland excite grim attention. On the controversy about Wood's halfpence the report of Sir Isaac Newton in the Portsmouth MSS.[2] requires to be examined. Mr. Temple Scott has edited the prose works of Swift, and his sixth and seventh volumes contain the bulk of the matter interesting to the student.[3] Lecky's illuminating study of the Dean is prefixed to this edition. In "Ireland in the Days of Dean Swift (1720–34)"[4] J. Bowles Daly collected the tracts referring to the condition of Ireland. R. A. King wrote a one-sided account of "Swift in Ireland."[5] There are, of course, the well-known biographies of J. Churton Collins,[6] Sir H. Craik,[7] and Sir L. Stephen.[8] Bishop George Berkeley, one of the purest souls of the eighteenth century, wrote a piercing survey of the state of Ireland in his "Querist, containing several Queries proposed to the Consideration of the Public. . . . To which is added, a Word to the Wise; or, an Exhortation to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland."[9] The social, political, and economic condition of the country all receive adequate notice. Mr. A. C. Fraser has given us an able biography of this great Bishop of Cloyne.[10]

Irish history from 1691 to 1714 has not been

[1] Vols. vi. and vii., London, 1883.
[2] Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep., viii., pp. 73 *ff.*
[3] London, 1903–05.
[4] London, 1887.
[5] London, 1895.
[6] London, 1893.
[7] London, 1885, 2 vols.
[8] London, 1882.
[9] Oxford, 1871.
[10] Edinburgh, 1881

explored in a satisfactory fashion. The reign of Queen Anne has not been properly studied. No doubt Swift has been the subject of attention from the biographer, the *littérateur*, and the historian. There comes a blank in our history from the death of the Dean to the rise of Grattan—that is, the blank extends throughout the whole reign of George II. and the first twenty years of his successor. Unless Lecky is carefully read it is scarcely perceived that his "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century" really resolves itself into a survey, complete and satisfactory, of the period from 1780 to 1800. "There may possibly be," he confesses, "unpublished family papers in Ireland that would throw a clear light on this period (*i.e.* before 1780) and on the characters of its chief men; but the accessible materials are so scanty that it is impossible with any confidence to give more than a bare outline of the history." The Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports contain information of the nature Lecky required, and this information remains unused. The Puleston MSS. relate to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[1] The Willes letters and observations cover the period 1757–62.[2] The Howard MSS. eke out the "Parliamentary History of Ireland, 1715–73."[3] The first volume[4] of the Emly MSS. yields us information on the Speakership of E. S. Pery, 1771–85, though the second

[1] 2nd Report, pp. 67–8; 15th Report, App. vii., pp. 307–43.
[2] 2nd Report, p. 103.
[3] 3rd Report, pp. 432–434.
[4] 8th Report, pp. 174–208.

volume[1] covers the well-known time 1780–98. The O'Conor MSS. furnish welcome information on the working of the penal laws and other matters, 1756–69.[2] The notable Stopford-Sackville MSS. cover the years 1731–82.[3] The two volumes of the Charlemont MSS. go from 1745 to 1799:[4] F. Hardy's "Memoirs of James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont,"[5] deserves consultation. The Donoughmore MSS.[6] tell us much about affairs in general and about those of J. Hely Hutchinson in particular, 1761–94. The Clements MSS.[7] begin in 1625 and end in 1759, and the Eyre Matcham MSS.[8] concern the years 1725–62.

In spite of all these additions, there is much that is still obscure. It is hard to understand the controversy over the Money Bill of 1753. Here the Stopford-Sackville letters and those of Speaker Pery are of much assistance. But far the greatest light is shed by the confidential correspondence between Archbishop Stone and the Duke of Newcastle, preserved in the British Museum. Stone was Primate of all Ireland from 1747 to 1765. He is, however, more noteworthy as a statesman than as a prelate. During the ministries of Pelham and Newcastle he was the chief agent of the English administration. Viceroys in those days did not

[1] 14th Report, App. ix. pp. 155–199.
[2] 8th Report, pp. 441–492.
[3] 9th Report, pt. 3, pp. 34–67.
[4] 12th Report, App. x.; 13th Report, App. viii.
[5] London, 1812, 2 vols.
[6] 12th Report, App. ix., pp. 227–333.
[7] Vol. viii. (1913), pp. 196–568.
[8] Vol. vi. (1909).

reside regularly, and George Stone filled the first place in the commission of lords justices during the absence of the viceroys. It was no nominal honour paid to his outstanding position. The Viceroy spent a few months of every second year in Ireland, while Stone was always there. Though Stone fell from power during the administration of the Duke of Devonshire, yet it is true to say that he was the real governor of the country from 1747 to his death in 1764. He was nine times appointed Lord Justice. The Duke of Newcastle had befriended him, raising him to the Primacy. He repaid this advancement by the light and leading which he so freely bestowed on the Duke in the intimacy of private correspondence never meant to be seen by any other eyes save those of Newcastle. During the reign of George II. there is no information so precious as that yielded by Stone's letters. In the frankest fashion they discuss the men and the measures of the Irish Parliament, and they indicate pretty plainly the way in which Poynings' Law enabled men like Newcastle and Stone to control the course of business in the Irish Parliament. Stone's letters and the Duke's answers enable us to grasp the nature of the first agitation which passed over Irish legislative life in the eighteenth century, the trouble ensuing on the Money Bill in the time of the administration of the Duke of Dorset. It is easier to understand the triumphs of Flood and Grattan when we grasp the nature of the agitation of 1753. Primate Stone's letters

range from 1746 to 1761 and C. Litton Falkiner has printed those written from 1752 to 1758.[1] He also gives some letters of the Archbishop to his brother Andrew, the confidential secretary of Newcastle, and some extracts from the correspondence of the Duke of Dorset and his son, Lord George Sackville, and these extracts relate to the matters with which the letters of the Primate deal.

There are, then, fresh clues to the understanding of parliamentary life. It is not so easy to grasp the social and economic life. Here the "Life of Philip Skelton"[2] by S. Burdy is well worth attention. It gives an artless and extremely sincere account of a clergyman who, in his way, displayed the virtues of Christianity just as effectively as Bishop Berkeley. Skelton's theology belongs to his own age: his character and his life of self-denial belong to all the ages. That enthusiastic Irish historian, Dr. G. T. Stokes, edited Dr. R. Pococke's "Tour in Ireland in 1752."[3] Pococke set out from Dublin, went to the Giant's Causeway, exploring the wilds of Donegal, and penetrating to Erris, Achill, and Belmullet. He has much to say about the condition of the Roman Catholics in Connaught, and he notes the effects of the legislation of Oliver Cromwell. He met members of such well-known families as Boyd, Brown, Bury, Hamilton, O'Donnel, Nunn, Palliser, Pepper, Shaw Taylor, and Stewart. As the editor points out,

[1] The *E. H. R.*, July, 1905, pp. 508–542; October, 1905, pp. 735–763.

[2] Oxford, 1914.

[3] London, 1891.

Pococke was interested in the manners and customs, the state of civilisation, the operation of the penal laws and of the charter school system, the names and emoluments of the clergy, the condition of trade, commerce, and manufactures, the rent of lands and houses, the state of architecture in country parts, and the botany, zoology, and geology of all the districts he visited. Lady Hanover edited "The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany."[1] The three volumes aim at describing the life of people in good society, and the result is an amusing book which, from a far different standpoint, supplements Pococke's "Tour."

Though not strictly pertinent here, we mention other books which enable us to understand the life of the people at the end of the eighteenth century. Mary Leadbeater, a member of the Society of Friends, brought out interesting notes of everyday life in the village of Ballitore, co. Kildare.[2] There are letters of Edmund Burke in it, and there is the correspondence of Mrs. R. Trench and George Crabbe with Mary Leadbeater. Vol. I. records the annals of Ballitore—it was occupied in 1798 both by the rebels and the loyalists—and Vol. II. gives the letters. De Latocnaye wrote his experiences as "Un Français en Irlande."[3] He visited the country in 1796–97. Of course, there

[1] London, 1861–62.
[2] "The Leadbeater Papers." London, 1862.
[3] Dublin, 1797. There is an Irish edition, Cork, 1798, and one by J. Stevenson, Dublin, 1917.

is the excellent account Arthur Young furnished in his invaluable "Tour in Ireland, 1776–79."[1] Lord John Russell edited the "Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore,"[2] and they provide an entertaining picture of life in the metropolis at the end of the eighteenth century. J. E. Walsh[3] was Master of the Rolls, and he supplements admirably the account which Thomas Moore gives. All the books of Sir Jonah Barrington are still worth reading. "The Personal Recollections of his own Times"[4] are intensely amusing, though they require to be read with caution. Certainly he and the novels of Charles Lever hit off the careless and reckless customs of the landed gentry when they become prosperous under the working of Foster's Corn Law.

There is some information on the Irish at home, but there is still little on them abroad. Many emigrated to France, to Spain, and to Austria, in order to escape from the penal laws. How many went away? The estimates of J. C. O'Callaghan in his "History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France"[5] cannot be accepted. There is room for books of the type of T. A. Fischer's "The Scots in Germany"[6] and "The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia."[7] In these two books we have exact references to documents and

[1] Dublin, 1880, 2 vols. Edited, with notes and a bibliography, by A. W. Hutton and J. P. Anderson. London, 1892, 2 vols.
[2] London, 1853, vol. i.
[3] "Sketches of Ireland Sixty Years Ago." Dublin, 1847.
[4] London, 1827–32, 3 vols.
[5] Dublin, 1854.
[6] Edinburgh, 1902.
[7] Edinburgh, 1903.

to the volumes which the learned author employs. The investigation of the Irish abroad in Europe and in America calls for students: there is ample material. There is some personal information in Mrs. O'Connell's "The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade, Count O'Connell, and the old Irish at Home and Abroad, 1743–1833."[1] Mention ought to be made of M. O'Conor's "Military History of the Irish Nation."[2]

The Reign of George III.

On this reign the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission are of the utmost weight. We have the miscellaneous papers in the Lansdowne collection, *c.* 1782–*c.* 1798;[3] the Carlisle MSS., referring to the end of the eighteenth century;[4] the P. V. Smith MSS., 1783–1806;[5] the Fortescue MSS., concerning the time when Temple was Lord-Lieutenant in 1782–83 and Buckinghamshire was Lord-Lieutenant in 1787–89, and giving the lively letters of Lord Mornington, 1784–85;[6] the Kenyon MSS.[7] and the Rutland MSS.,[8] both dealing with the end of the eighteenth century; and the Knox MSS.,[9] for the closing years of this period.

Lecky is of the highest value from 1780 to 1800. It is as hard to overpraise him for the last quarter of the eighteenth century as it is to overpraise Gardiner

[1] London, 1892, 2 vols. [2] Dublin, 1845. [3] 6th Report, p. 236.
[4] 15th Report, App. vi. [5] 12th Report, App. ix., pp. 343–74.
[6] 13th Report, App. viii., 3. [7] 14th Report, App. iv.
[8] 14th Report, App. iii. [9] Vol. vi. (1909).

or Bagwell for the first half of the seventeenth. Froude continues his brilliant and biased account, yet an account founded on the use of first-hand evidence. T. D. Ingram's "Critical Examination of Irish History"[1] performs highly useful work. C. Litton Falkiner writes eight graphic sketches of the Grattan Parliament and Ulster, the Earl-Bishop of Derry (*i.e.*, the Earl of Bristol), Lord Clare, Castlereagh, and Ireland in 1798, Plunket and Roman Catholic emancipation, Sir Boyle Roche, Thomas Steele (the henchman of Daniel O'Connell), and the French invasion of Ireland in 1798.[2] The studies are all based on the original sources, and it is the most brilliant book Falkiner wrote.

The relations of statesmen like the Earl of Shelburne and Pitt were so closely connected with Irish affairs that their biographies must be read. On the former there is the fine study of Lord Fitzmaurice,[3] while on the latter there are the works of Earl Stanhope,[4] Lord Rosebery,[5] Lord Ashbourne,[6] and J. Holland Rose.[7] Of course, as a general remark it ought to be said that all Lives of statesmen concerned with the course of affairs in Ireland ought to be read.

Lecky's "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland" was published anonymously in 1861, when he was

[1] London, 1900, 2 vols.
[2] "Studies in Irish History." London, 1902.
[3] "Life of the Earl of Shelburne." London, 1912, 2 vols.
[4] "Life of William Pitt." London, 1862, 4 vols.
[5] "Life of Pitt." London, 1891.
[6] "Pitt: Some Chapters of his Life and Times." London, 1898.
[7] "William Pitt." London, 1911, 2 vols.

only twenty-three. There was little demand for it, and it is discreditable to think that, to use the author's own words, "it fell absolutely dead."[1] Mr. O'Neill Daunt wrote a kindly review of it in a Cork newspaper: less than a dozen copies were sold. Had not Lecky been a man with private means, it is probable that he would have ceased to produce any historical work. Fortunately, like Darwin, he was able to hold on. In 1871 he revised his "Leaders," and in 1903 he published another edition which employed the confidential correspondence of the Government, preserved in the Record Office, Dublin. In this edition he looks with kindly eyes on the motives not only of Pitt and Cornwallis, but on those of Castlereagh. He is just in his account of Pitt as a parliamentary reformer, maintaining his sincerity in this matter, and allows the wisdom and the liberality of the Commercial Propositions. He also brings out the point that the opposition to the amelioration of the Roman Catholics proceeded from the Irish Government, not from the English. He covers the material employed by Lord Rosebery and Lord Ashbourne in their defence of Pitt on the question of the recall of Fitzwilliam. He is not convinced by these "very able biographers and panegyrists of Pitt." The recall of Fitzwilliam is an episode of which the importance has been grossly exaggerated. In the light of after events,

[1] Mrs. Lecky, "A Memoir of W. E. H. Lecky," p. 26. This is an admirable biography.

it is true that Fitzwilliam's policy was liberal, if bold. Fitzwilliam allowed himself to occupy a false position, and he did not carry out the instructions he received: perhaps, indeed, he could not. Lecky holds that the United Irishmen and the rebellion of 1798 killed the Irish Parliament. Now, the United Irishmen were well organised, waiting for a suitable opportunity, when Fitzwilliam was recalled. It is a thousand pities that Pitt was not able to complete the policy of amelioration which he contemplated on the eve of the Union. George III. took the matter out of his hands as O'Connell took it out of the hands of Grattan. In his "Secret Service under Pitt"[1] W. J. Fitzpatrick adds to the material accumulating for a history of the United Irish movement. In his valuable account the author sets forth the completeness and the accuracy of the information possessed by the Government concerning the designs of the United Irishmen. An initial or an alias was all that was known even in the secret correspondence in Dublin Castle of the most useful of all the agents. "Lord Downshire's friend" demanded that his name should not be furnished to the Cabinet, and his demand was complied with: his name was Samuel Turner, alias Furnes, alias Richardson. There is light on much else, for *inter alia* Fitzpatrick tells us why Humbert's expedition landed in Killala, not in Belfast.

[1] London, 1892.

The Rebellion of 1798.

The biographies of two distinguished generals are helpful in the understanding of this Rebellion. Lord Dunfermline wrote the story of his father, "Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby, 1793–1801":[1] he commanded the troops in Ireland from December, 1797, to April, 1798, and was so dissatisfied with the course of events that he resigned his command. Major-General Sir. J. F. Maurice edits *"The Diary of Sir John Moore":[2] he was Colonel in command fighting the rebels. The widow of Miles Byrne compiled his *"Memoirs,"[3] recording his work as an organiser of the insurrection. After the fiasco of the Emmet rising he escaped to France, serving with the legions of Napoleon. Thomas Cloney wrote *"A Personal Narrative of those Transactions in the County of Wexford, in which the Author was Engaged."[4] J. Bowles Daly sketches the principal characters of "Ireland in '98."[5] W. J. Fitzpatrick wrote the valuable accounts of "The Sham Squire (Francis Higgins) and the Informers of 1798"[6] and a sequel to it, "Ireland before the Union."[7] The Rev. J. Gordon wrote a very temperate *"History of the Rebellion in Ireland."[8] The humane E. Hay described the *"History of the Insurrection of the County of Wexford."[9] Joseph

[1] Edinburgh, 1861.
[2] London, 1904, 2 vols.: vol. i., pp. 268–332.
[3] Dublin, 1906–07, ed. S. Gwynn. [4] Dublin, 1832.
[5] London, 1888. [6] Dublin, 1866. [7] Dublin, 1867.
[8] London, 1803. [9] Dublin, 1803.
* All the accounts asterisked are contemporary.

Holt wrote impressive *"Memoirs": he was a general of the rebels. The Rev. P. F. Kavanagh sympathises with the insurrectionists in his *"Popular History of the Insurrection of 1798."[1a] T. MacNeven outlines *"The Lives and Trials of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the Rev. William Jackson, the Defenders, William Orr, Peter Finnerty, etc."[2] R. R. Madden wrote an exhaustive account of "The United Irishmen":[3] there are considerable differences between the first and second editions. In order to counteract the effects of Madden's labours the Rev. W. H. Maxwell described the "History of the Irish Rebellion."[4] Another work of the same class as Maxwell's is Sir R. Musgrave's *"Memoirs of the Different Rebellions in Ireland."[5] F. W. Palliser wrote a poor book, "The Irish Rebellion of 1798."[6] T. Reynolds wrote an interesting *autobiography.[7] G. Taylor outlined a capable *"History of the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of Rebellion in the County of Wexford."[8] C. H. Teeling's *"History of the Irish Rebellion of 1798" helps us to understand the feeling in Ulster.[9] Mr. G. F. Handcock gave the *"Reminiscences of a Loyalist in 1798" (in Wexford).[10] Light on the conditions of the time is thrown in M. MacDonagh's "Viceroy's Post Bag,"[11] which publishes the correspondence of the Earl of Hardwicke, the first Lord-Lieutenant after the Union.

[1] London, 1838. [1a] Dublin, 1884. [2] Dublin, 1846.
[3] London, 1842–60. [4] London, 1891. [5] Dublin, 1801.
[6] London, 1898. [7] London, 1839. [8] Dublin, 1800.
[9] Glasgow, 1876. [10] E. H. R., vol. i., 536 *ff.* [11] London, 1904.
* All the accounts asterisked are contemporary.

The French Invasions.

T. C. Crofton's edition of "Popular Songs"[1] enables us to see the attitude of the people. H. Joy edits "Belfast Politics,"[2] which performs the same function for the north. Bishop Stock's "Narrative of what passed at Killala"[3] is most lively. The Russian V. Gribayedoff picturesquely describes "The French Invasion."[4] L. O. Fontaine gives a "Notice historique de la descente des Français en Irlande."[5] E. Guillon describes "La France et l'Irlande pendant la Révolution. Hoche et Humbert."[6] G. Escande notes "Hoche en Irlande, 1795–98, d'après des documents inédits; lettres de Hoche, délibérations secrètes du Directoire, mémoires secrets de Wolfe Tone."[7] There are masses of documents in "The Spencer Papers, 1794–1801,"[8] edited by Sir J. S. Corbett and in "1793–1805. Projets et tentatives de Debarquement aux Îles Britanniques," edited by É. Desbrière."[9] A. Sorel describes "Bonaparte et Hoche, en 1797"[10] with all his wonted power.

The Economic Condition.

Among the older books there are R. V. Clarendon, "Revenue and Finances of Ireland";[11] J. H. Hutchinson, "Commercial Restraints of Ireland"; D. Macpherson, "Annals of Commerce";[12] T.

[1] London, 1845–47.
[2] Belfast, 1794.
[3] London, 1800.
[4] New York, 1901.
[5] Paris, 1801.
[6] Paris, 1888.
[7] Paris, 1888.
[8] London, 1913.
[9] Paris, 1900–02.
[10] Paris, 1896.
[11] London, 1791.
[12] London, 1805.

Newenham, "A View of the Natural, Political, and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland";[1] G. L. Smyth, "Ireland, Historical and Statistical";[2] E. Wakefield, "Account of Ireland, Statistical[3] and Political";[4] and Sir G. Nicholls, "History of the Irish Poor Law."[5] All that ever came from the pen of J. E. Cairnes is powerful, and his "Political Essays" deserve repeated perusal. In them he discusses the agricultural revolution, the emigration, the Irish cottier, and Irish landlordism. Mr. D. A. Chart analyses with ability the social, economic, and administrative conditions of "Ireland from the Union to Catholic Emancipation."[6] Of course Miss Murray's work deserves attention for this period. Mr. H. F. Berry patiently investigates the "History of the Royal Dublin Society,"[7] a volume due to that lifelong patriot, the late Lord Ardilaun, whose munificence accomplished so much for Dublin and for Ireland, Lastly, Mr. G. O'Brien has given us a clear account of "The Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century."[8]

[1] London, 1804.
[2] London, 1844.
[3] London, 1812.
[4] London, 1856.
[5] Pp. 109–199. London, 1873.
[6] London, 1910.
[7] London, 1915.
[8] London, 1918.

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